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## COMPUTER COMPANIES

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Fastest laser printers in the world:

## Compaq's Page Mark laser printers

COMPAQ COMPUTERS, working in cooperation with the technical assistance of Xerox and printing package specialists Adobe Software Systems, have released their new Compaq Page Mark laser printers, which are probably the fastest of their kind on the market.

The Page Mark 20 is one of the fastest laser printers around, capable of printing 20 pages a minute (hence the name) and running at 20 MHz with 4 MB RAM. As for the Page Mark 15, it is capable of printing 15 pages per minute running at 16 MHz with 4 MB RAM. They are the first of their kind, and are able to automatically switch from one printing system to another, such as supporting Postscript or PCL. They can be directly connected

to Novell networks through Ethernet or Token Ring interfaces.



to Apple networks through Apple talk interface without the need for dedicated printer drivers, allowing five other peripherals to work at the same time.

Built in NIC cards are responsible for allocating work to these printers, which can hold the minimum amount of 1500 sheets of paper (Page Mark 20) and 1000 sheets (Page Mark 15).

These printers are designed to cater for work groups exceeding 20 users, in the Page Mark 20's case, while the Page Mark 15 caters for medium and small work groups including users of drawing and engineering applications.

Compaq have always been major players in the PC market. Having released these printers in June this year, they now seem set to play a similar role in the laser printer market. If these new products are as successful as expected, it could mean the beginning of a variety of peripheral products from Compaq.

## New products for 1993 announced at Apple Dealers' Meeting in Amman

IDEAL SYSTEMS, authorized Apple dealers in Jordan, hosted the Apple Dealers' Meeting at the Amman Marriott Hotel from 21 to 23 November. The meeting was organized by Arab Business Machines (ABM), regional distributors for Apple Computers in the Middle East.

Representatives from Bahrain, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Syria, UAE, Yemen and Jordan, as well as guests from France and Spain, attended the meeting. Presentations were given by the participants, who discussed issues of technology in the region, including new products for 1993 and Apple's Middle East market share, which ranges from 18 to 22 percent.

New additions to the Macintosh range include the new PowerBook 160, 180 notebook com-

puters featuring greater performance and more flexible video capabilities. Both systems use a Motorola 68030 processor running at 25 and 33 MHz, including VGA and SVGA displays as well as providing better grayscale displays. Two new mid-range products are the Macintosh IIfx and IIfx computers, suitable for users working with sophisticated graphics, a large file and vivid colors (up to 32,000 colors). Both incorporate Motorola's 68030 processor running at 16 and 32 MHz respectively, featuring NuBus slots for mass storage devices such as CD-ROM drive, a removable cartridge drive, or a high capacity disk drive.

The Macintosh Duo System, the new personal computer system, combines the versatility of a desktop computer with the com-

patibility of a notebook computer. It includes the PowerBook Duo Dock notebook computer and the Macintosh Duo Dock docking station and PowerLatch docking technology, which delivers a smooth transition between the worlds of desktop and notebook computing. Also announced were the new Macintosh 14-inch Color Display and System 7.1, the new version of the Macintosh operating system, both of which we'll be looking at more closely in the future.

## Arabization for HP DeskJet 500

ALALAMIAH HAVE announced an agreement with Hewlett Packard to provide a package that gives DeskJet 500 ink jet printers a complete Arabization solution. The package will consist of a fonts cartridge, Al-Moharer word processor and Sakhr Arabic operating System Version 2. The package will be distributed through HP dealers in Arabic speaking countries. The agreement is the start of a long term alliance between AlAlamiah and HP which should bring more surprises to Arabic users in the future.

## Benchmark testing: What is it, who needs it?

IF YOU follow up on computer magazines then you're probably wondering what on earth "benchmarks" are. Everybody talks about "how this product scored more in benchmark tests" than that one did.

Benchmarks are a set of standards put by an organization or institution especially set up with the aim of testing and comparing products, most famous of which is the National Software Testing Laboratories (NSTL) in the USA. Some computer publications have adopted a new understanding of the term "benchmarks" by incorporating it into hardware or software reviews as a rating linked to speed.

Under the rating of benchmark speed, for example, you could say that a certain application is capable of searching a database in 40 seconds on a 486 PC, comparing it to the performance of other applications on the same machine. Thus, such magazines have taken benchmarks into their own hands. Some governments have also created their own benchmarks in testing before buying.

Back to official benchmarks such as those approved by the NSTL, they have become very important in selling software and hardware in the computer industry since they are used as criteria for choice between products for most corporate buyers.

But the question remains as to whether benchmarks can really serve users' needs. There are complaints that these tests highlight performance, disregarding the importance of actual use. This means running the risk of buying a product that rates high on benchmark testing, only to find out that it cannot offer the performance required. The unpleasant results include all sorts of complaints and accusations that benchmark tests are either being rigged or influenced by big software companies like Microsoft, whose FoxPro 2.0 database was rated lower than Borland's Paradox, resulting in Microsoft's demand for new testing.

This isn't the first time. Earlier this year, WordPerfect threatened Microsoft with legal action regarding advertisements in which Microsoft claimed that a NSTL study showed that users preferred Microsoft's Word for Windows to WordPerfect for DOS.

Maybe users should rely on their gut feelings before purchasing products? In some areas in the world such as the Middle East, users still pay most attention to marketing and promotion efforts which influence them into buying a product. If it looks as though it could serve your needs, and if people in Europe and the United States are using the product extensively, then these are good enough reasons for buying it. So, we in the Middle East are in fact indirectly influenced by these benchmark results.

Productivity is another issue. Comparing the speed of processing data by two different databases, or comparing the speed of the same database on different hardware does not shed much light on productivity to be gained, due to other important factors such as ease of use or even the mere willingness of employees to use the computers in the first place.

Localizing benchmark tests could be the answer to our problems, by making a certain party responsible for these comparisons, like the Jordan Computer Society (JCS) for example. Maybe there is no real need for this since foreign benchmark testing could be a valid source of information for Jordanian users. What is more, the influence of dealers will most definitely affect any sort of testing owing to the small size of the market and since an independent organization for this purpose would be far too much trouble to go to. Besides, as far as software is concerned, our bad habit of piracy enables us to try out so many different software packages for almost nothing.

Corporate or governmental buyers of hardware in Jordan don't usually depend on reading or obtaining any information about benchmark tests abroad in making their decisions. It's basically a case of comparing specifications to asking prices between tenders offered by local or foreign companies, and there seems to be a rather big weight for after-sales support offered.

The bottom line is to depend on experienced professionals in the field of your choice in computer applications: when it comes to answering your questions, researching your needs and recommending what to buy. You don't need to struggle with hardware or software for it to work for you just because somebody says it's the best. In the case of the home user, the answer is quite simply "try before you buy".



"Bench" testing

## The Star

Jordan's political, economic and cultural weekly

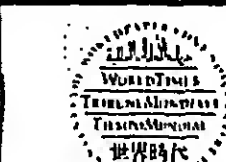
AMMAN, 3 — 9 DECEMBER 1992, VOLUME 3, NUMBER 37

اسبوعية سياسية مستقلة



JORDAN WEEK:

Dead telephones at the TC  
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The WorldPaper

BEHIND THE HEADLINES  
Sometimes the most important news doesn't make the front page—either because some events don't fit into neat definitions of "news" or they take place out of the public glare. In this issue, The WorldPaper focuses on important but unreported stories from Russia, Jordan, Myanmar and Guatemala.



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Supplément en français du Star

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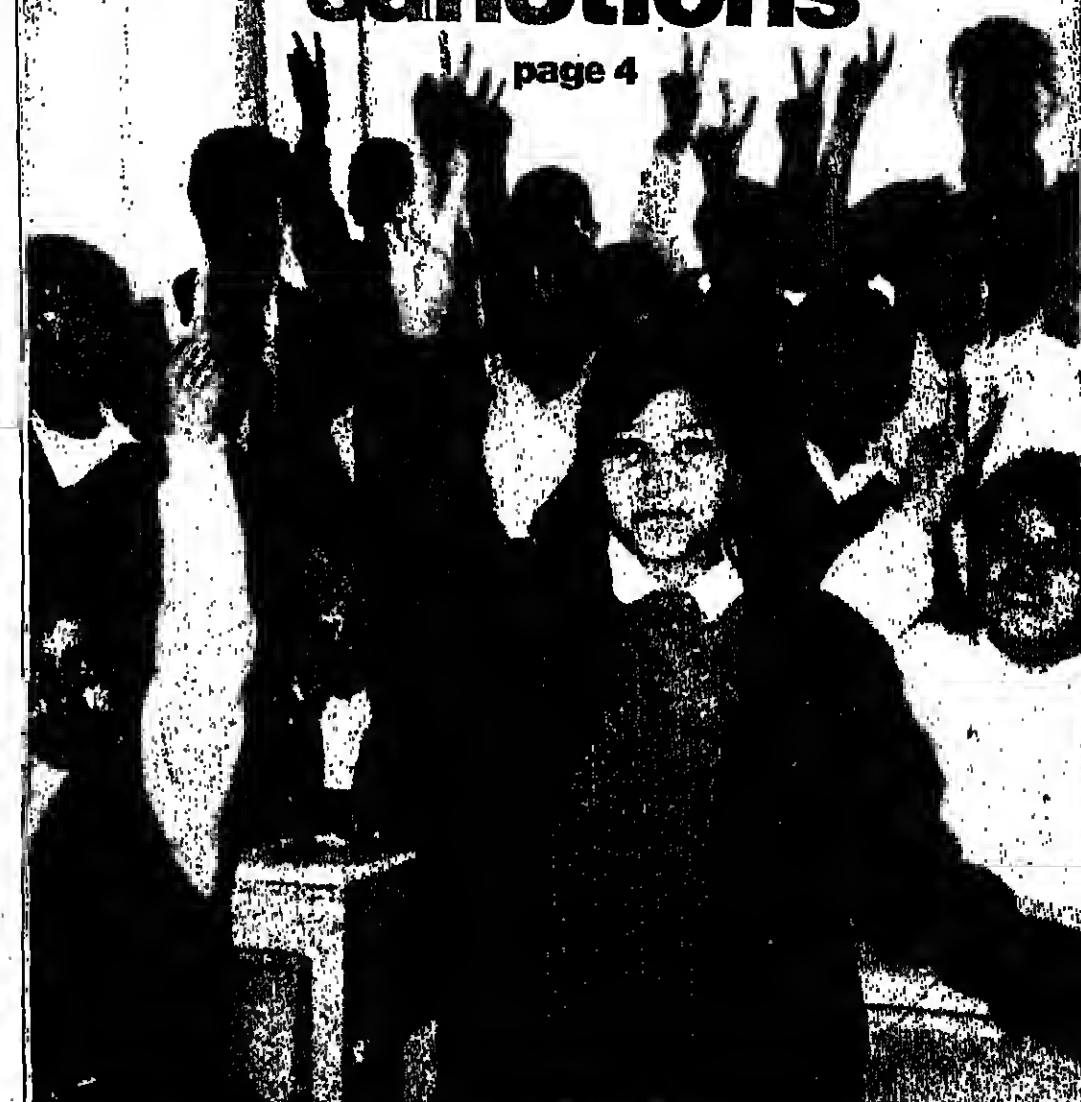
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OKI LARER Nissanka

## Iraq under the sanctions

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The Star  
Jordan's political, economic and cultural weekly





# JORDAN

## WEEK

An unconventional report on  
Jordanian news and views

### Italian minister postpones visit to Jordan

Italian Foreign Minister Mr Emilio Colombo has postponed a scheduled visit to Jordan and Lebanon, which was to begin on Thursday, the Italian embassy in Amman said. An embassy official said the visit was postponed because Mr Colombo had to attend an EC function. The embassy official could not set a new date for the visit. Earlier, the embassy had announced that Mr Colombo would discuss peace in the Middle East and mutual relations.

Officials said that Italy intends to host the coming round of meetings on economic cooperation between Arabs and Israel, one of the main issues being covered in the multilateral negotiations.

Diplomats said that Italy is one of the major countries offering economic and financial aid to Jordan and Lebanon. It has agreed to grant Jordan loans for development projects amounting to the equivalent of \$50 million. In addition to that it is offering the equivalent of \$33 million in the form of soft loans for subsidized goods for 1991-92, but this agreement has not been finalized yet. Italy has also agreed to provide

vide food aid to Jordan equivalent to \$21 million in 1992 so as to help Jordan overcome the effects of the economic crisis caused by the Gulf War. Several shipments of rice, wheat and other foodstuffs have already arrived in Amman as part of this agreement.

### Japan to offer grants in 1993

Japan will offer Jordan aid grants in 1993, *Al Quds* quoted a Japanese official at the Japanese embassy in Amman. It said Japan will finance three development projects in Jordan worth over \$400 million. The paper quoted the official as saying that his country is waiting for the Ministry of Planning to provide a list containing the projects which Japan will consider financing.

### 79 AIDS cases in Jordan, minister says

Minister of Health Dr Aref Bataineh revealed that the number of AIDS and HIV positive cases in Jordan is 79, of which 54 contracted the virus through blood transfusion outside Jordan.

Speaking to Petra news agency on the occasion of International AIDS Day, Dr Bataineh said 20 of the victims had died since the first AIDS case was reported in Jordan in 1985. He added that Jordan is not considered among the countries that has a major AIDS problem. Dr Bataineh said the ministry is working to put forward effective strategies to educate citizens, test blood samples and work with researchers in cooperation with international institutions.

### TC disconnects service to thousands of clients

Over 23,000 telephone subscribers have had their lines partially disconnected this week after failing to settle their bills, estimated at JD 4 million, to the Telecommunications Corp. Assistant TC Director General Dr Adel Shamaleh said all subscribers included in the measures had failed to pay the September bill.

Partial disconnection, which allows subscribers to receive but not make calls, will last for one week. Failing to pay after that period will give the TC the right to



His Majesty King Hussein and French President Francois Mitterrand during their press conference on Friday at the Royal Palace.

President and Mrs Mitterrand paid a one-day official visit to Jordan. Both leaders called for fresh momentum to be injected into the peace process. President Mitterrand, who said his country has an important role to play in the peace process, urged Israel to deal with the PLO since it is the representative of the Palestinian people. His statements drew sharp criticism from Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin.

The King reiterated Jordan's position with regards to the peace process, saying that Jordan negotiates on the basis of UN resolutions and seeks a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

Mr Mitterrand said Europe can contribute to the development of the region through a proposed European fund to finance projects in the Middle East. Mr Mitterrand's visit to Jordan and Israel was seen by observers as a further attempt by France to chart an independent foreign policy on the Middle East.

terminate the service completely. Dr Shamaleh said 2442 subscribers in the Greater Amman Area had their telephone lines cancelled permanently. These lines, he said, were then allocated to new subscribers.

He added that the TC is seeking to remit another JD 4 million which over 20,000 subscribers owe for the last ten years. Dr Shamaleh said the TC will take measures soon to force subscribers to pay these overdue bills.

Dr Shamaleh also revealed that the TC will launch a new

public phone service next year, which will be operated by magnetic cards with pre-paid value. The telephones will be installed in banks, large companies and post offices.

### Two companies to offer shares

Two public shareholding companies will offer shares for public subscription this December, *Ad Dustour* reported.

The JD 3.5 million capital Arab Company for Food and Medical Supplies will offer 875,000 shares. The company will produce and manufacture plastic laboratory equipment, medical and food-related plastic containers. The second company, The International Company for Metal Industries has a capital of JD 1 million and will offer 250,000 shares to the public. The company will produce locks, barrels and bolts.

### Police arrest hooligans

Zarqa police arrested four men who allegedly went on the rampage in Russeifa on Sunday destroying shop windows and attacking a number of residents, *Al Rai* newspaper reported. It said all of those arrested had previous criminal records and were released recently. The four men were armed with knives and batons, the paper added. It said the men attacked groceries, video rental shops and hairdressers' parlors, destroying windows and injuring at least one person. Police cordoned off the area and managed to arrest the gang in less than two hours.

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Apple Laserwriter printer for proofs, Apple Scanner for scanning photos and Linotype-Hell for the final production.

### Opening the Parliament's last session

## King reaffirms commitment to democracy, warns against extremism

AMMAN (Star) — His Majesty King Hussein has reaffirmed Jordan's commitment to strengthening democracy and protecting it from extremism and called for consensus through dialogue.

Delivering his speech from the Throne to mark the opening of the fourth, and last, session of the 11th Jordanian Parliament on Tuesday, the King outlined his government's program and achievements so far in various political, economic and social fields.

On Jordan's view of the peace process, King Hussein said that the Kingdom is working for the restoration of land and national rights, including Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem on the basis of a just and honorable settlement. He added that Jordan's position has always rested on international legitimacy as embodied in United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of "land for peace."

Referring to the General Pardon, the King said he had instructed the government to commute sentences not covered by the amnesty within limits that preserve the community's interests.

The King said that the political parties law will allow Jordanians to join political parties whose goals, means and finances are truly Jordanian. He added that violence and fanaticism cannot solve any issue and that no one can claim monopoly on the truth.

He also said the press and publication draft law, which is still at the Lower House, guarantees freedom of the press and expression within a framework of deep national responsibility.

The King said the government will be referring a draft law for a teachers' association, which will provide additional guarantees and rights for teachers in order to ensure stability and continuity of this profession. He also said the government will submit a draft labor law.

Following are some of the important highlights of the King's speech:

■ The government will soon set up a center for democracy, freedom and human rights studies in the Arab world to be based in Amman.

■ The government will continue to call for Arab reconciliation and cooperation.

■ Emphasis has been put upon administrative reform, with the aim of decentralizing the decision-making process. Regulations for a National Data Bank, Administrative Inspection and Supervision Commission and the Legislation Board have been adopted or reformed.

■ In the same regard, a national plan for administrative training and a four-year plan for vocational and technical training will be executed next year. More legislative and executive regulations have been adopted to safeguard public funds and tighten internal



exceed 4 percent.

■ The government has eased the burden of foreign debt servicing by rescheduling part of the foreign governments' debts, while agreements have been reached to reduce the burden of commercial banks' debts.

■ The government is seeking to reduce domestic debt through early repayment and limiting borrowing ceilings to the lowest levels.

■ The government has taken measures to repair damages to public facilities and various sectors, including agriculture, sustained during the harsh winter. It has also fulfilled its commitment to exempt farmers from large parts of interest payments on loans. The Agriculture Credit Organization will double its working capital and the government will seek solutions to absorb surplus agricultural production.

■ Studies and plans have been prepared for the construction of Al Karamah Dam and the raising of the Kafra Dam in the Jordan Valley. Work on both projects will commence next year. Design plans are being drawn for two dams in Wadi Al Moujib and two others in Wadi Al Hasa and Wadi Al Jordan. Work on Ruweished Dam has finished while construction continues to build sand dams and canals to make the best use of rain and flood water.

■ The government has approved an investment project for the Telecommunications Corp. to provide telephone services to 180,000 subscribers in the coming five years.

■ The government will support oil and gas exploration projects in the Kingdom and will set up a national oil company, an investment-minerals company and an independent nuclear energy commission.

■ The government has put forward a comprehensive national strategy to protect the environment and has agreed with the International Federation for the Conservation of Nature to maintain the Dana and Azraq reserves. Also efforts are being spent to protect 12 reserves throughout the Kingdom.

■ Later the Lower House elected Dr Abdel Latif Arabyyat for a third term as Speaker. He received 58 votes to Sbeikh Al-Rai's 18. One deputy, Leith Sbeilat, did not attend the voting session.

### FOR THE RECORD

By Ahmad Shaker

■ Speaker of the Lebanese Parliament Mr Nabih Berri will pay a visit to Jordan in January at the invitation of Lower House Speaker Dr Abdel Latif Arabyyat.

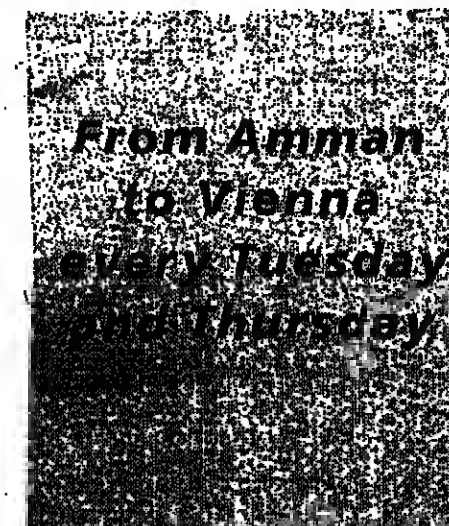
■ Jordan has asked the Lebanese government to help in evacuating a section of the Jordanian embassy building in Beirut of refugees, who moved into the building during the civil war. Jordan will appoint a new ambassador to Beirut and will increase the number of Jordanian diplomats at the embassy.

■ Syria's ambassador in Amman, Mr Majid Saleh, left for Washington this week to join his country's delegation to the Middle East peace negotiations.

■ The government is negotiating with the Atomic Energy Agency (AEA) to study the possibility of setting up a nuclear station for agricultural experiments. Jordan is interested in the Pakistani experience in seed radiation, with the aim of increasing agricultural production.

■ The government has allocated JD 6 million for public Jordanian universities, of which JD 1 million will go to the newly-established Al Al Beit University.

■ The rate of exchange for the Iraqi dinar in Amman has dropped to 360 fils, after having reached 430 fils a week ago during Iraqi deputy premier Tareq Aziz's visit to the UN. The Lebanese lira remained stable at JD 370 for 1 million lira.



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Iraq: 'The next Somalia'?

# UN sanctions hit hardest on the young

By Kate Daniels  
Star Staff Writer

WITH THE endorsement of the Security Council, the UN Sanctions Committee last week sustained its economic embargo against Iraq, rejecting its claim that it has complied with the terms of the Gulf War cease-fire.

This unanimous decision came amid press reports that Iraq was fast becoming "the next Somalia", with grim accounts of acute malnourishment, rife infection and a visible increase in diarrhoeal disease. Kuwait, in turn, ridiculed Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz for describing his country as "a victim" of the embargo.

But according to Dr Jamal Shurdom, a Jordanian Middle East consultant who recently visited Iraq, the victims of the sanc-

tions are many — most of them young and all of them vulnerable. "These sanctions are hurting innocent people, not the heads of government," he said, referring to Iraq's children, the elderly, the sick and nursing mothers.

A former lecturer in Political Science at the University of Jordan, Dr Shurdom is director of the US-based Middle East Consultations and Research Analysis (MECRA), an international affairs research periodical. Now staying in Jordan, he is devoting his time to a special issue detailing his 45 days in Baghdad and Basra, focussing on the sanctions and their effects on Iraq's children.

"I really wanted to see how the people felt and not just the government," he said, explaining how he divided his time between visiting schools and hospitals and

interviewing prominent government officials.

Dr Shurdom related the appalling scenes of misery he witnessed at the Saddam Central Teaching Hospital for Children in Baghdad, described to him as "the best" institution of its kind in Iraq. "These children are suffering due to a lack of equipment and the pressure of the sanctions," he said. "It is true that the UN embargo has not banned medical supplies, but somehow they are not getting through to those who need them."

With a population of 18 million, all medical supplies delivered to Iraq have to be fairly and swiftly apportioned, but distribution problems and meager accessibility have meant that the ratio of supplies to the sick and needy remains low.

"Children are dying of very



Dr Shurdom

simple, treatable diseases, purely because of the unavailability of medicine. This is like someone dying of a headache due to a lack of aspirin," said Dr Shurdom.



A victim of the sanctions

He added that a lack of food has meant that students in schools are complaining of hunger, and that state provided milk and sandwiches have been cancelled due to the sanctions.

But who do the Iraqi people look to in their suffering? Dr Shurdom confirmed that President Saddam Hussein's leadership is "standing on very solid foundations" in terms of political power, and "has good support" in terms of popularity.

"The Iraqis blame the Arabs who stood against them and the Western allies," he said, arguing that "all Iraqis, from top government down to *felafel* sellers" see Kuwait as an occupied territory and an artificial state.

Dr Shurdom said that the sanctions are punitive and misguided in their nature, and that their continued imposition will have tragic human consequences. He also accused the UN of being heavy-handed with the Iraqi people and of "intervening" in the country's political system.

"I believe that the Iraqi government is trying to satisfy cease-fire terms, such as by allowing the obliteration of its weapons of mass destruction," he said. "But at the same time, it is not the business of the UN to insist upon democracy in Iraq. Why not turn their attention to the Gulf States?"

Dr Shurdom is angry that the humanitarian aspect of the UN sanctions has been so far neglected by the "caring" West. "All people and governments must now put politics aside and set immediately against these inhumane measures," he said. "Anyone with a sense of responsibility should help those children. We must not prevent food from reaching those who need to eat; that is not the definition of a New World Order."

The Iraqis themselves, however, remain proud and defiant. One citizen told Dr Shurdom that he thought that the sanctions were "good" for Iraq, arguing that this could lead to economic independence. "We should have them for at least one more year," he told him, "to help us in the future to rely on our brains and not just our oil."

Dr Shurdom believes that if only "three or four Arab countries" were to defy the sanctions, Iraq's problems would soon be over. Some, such as Sudan, have already dispatched crucial food supplies. "These sanctions are not being enforced by the West but by our Arab brothers," he said, adding that "as brothers" there should also be some obligation to help.

By Fabrisio Fontemaggi

# UN declares war on world hunger

GOVERNMENT MINISTERS and senior policy makers from more than 150 countries, together with representatives of non-governmental organizations, are expected finally to approve a World Declaration and a Plan of Action which aim to improve the nutritional well-being of all people, with the ultimate goal of eradicating hunger and malnutrition.

Held under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Conference on Nutrition in Rome, which is to take place from 5 to 11 December, is the most important gathering of its kind for 50 years. The nutritional challenges facing the world are enormous, and meeting them will need fully committed, concerted global action at every level from governments to grass roots.

In a joint statement, Edouard Saoum, director-general of FAO, and Hiroshi Nakajima, director-general of WHO, say: "For the first time in history, governments acting in an international forum will be asked to think beyond the still-present problems of hunger and survival and to focus squarely on nutrition and health."

The conference is opening with a spirit of optimism and a determination to build on the remarkable progress many countries have already made. *Nutrition and Development — A Global Challenge*, the conference's main background document, takes a broad view of the major global food and nutrition problems and analyzes the wide range of notions needed to improve nutrition.

"The objective of eradicating hunger and malnutrition, and its consequent human suffering, is within reach of humanity," it says. "To meet this global challenge full commitment and concerted action are needed on the part of all concerned — governments, non-governmental organizations, local communities, the private sector and the international community, including international organizations."

Poverty, not lack of food, is the root cause of hunger and malnutrition which remain "the most devastating problems facing the majority of the world's poor," says the report. "Despite general improvements in food availability, health and social services, hunger and malnutrition exist in some form in almost every country."

The report, produced jointly by FAO and WHO, is the result of an intensive consultation process initiated for the conference, including eight regional preparatory meetings. The analysis covers virtually every aspect of nutrition, from the production and distribution of, and access to, adequate food supplies, to the importance of breast-feeding and the role of food-borne diseases.

The findings include striking examples of the nutritional gulfs that exist both between and within countries.

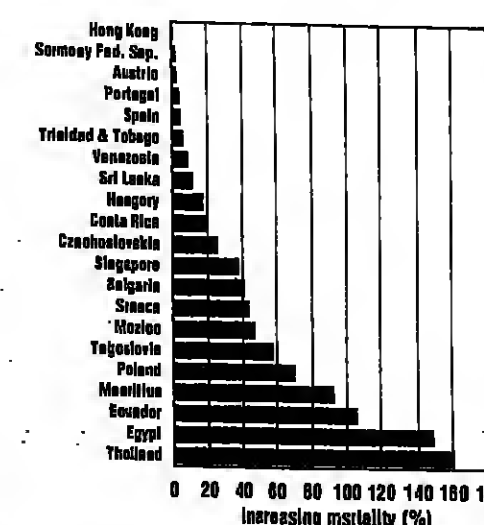
Although it paints an alarming picture, the report also shows that progress has been made in recent years in reducing the prevalence of nutritional problems.

For the developing countries as a whole, there has been a constant decline in the last 20 years in the proportion and absolute number of chronically undernourished people. In 1969-71, approximately 941 million people were chronically undernourished, com-

pared with 786 million in 1988-90, representing a drop from 36 to 20 per cent of the population of these countries.

Data from the UN Population Division show a general improvement with regard to infant and young mortality. In sub-Saharan Africa the infant mortality rate fell from 165 to 121 per 1000 live births between 1960 and 1983. In south Asia the fall was from 157 to 115 infant deaths per 1000 live births. In other regions the rates are well under 100.

Mortality from cardiovascular diseases and the prevalence of other diet-related, noncommunicable diseases such as obesity, diabetes mellitus (non-insulin dependent), certain types of cancer and dental caries, has been declining in many European coun-



Increasing mortality due to diet (%)

tries and in North America, Japan and Australia in the last 15 years. This decline is attributed largely to the initiation of health education campaigns to reduce dietary risk factors, such as excess intake of saturated fat and cholesterol; and life-style risk factors, such as smoking and lack of physical exer-

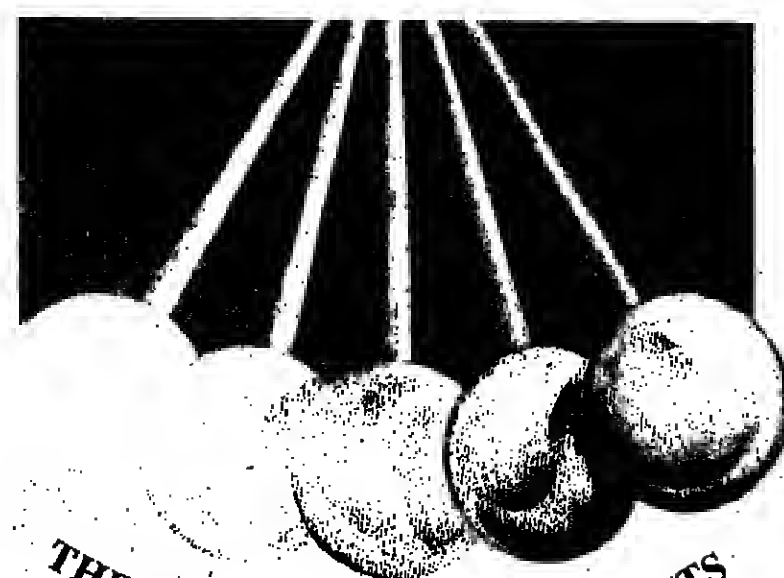
cise; and improved health care. However, increased incidence of chronic diet-related noncommunicable diseases is occurring in many other parts of the world. Countries in eastern Europe and several developing nations show somewhat increased mortality rates for these disorders. The trend is associated with increased life expectancy, high rates of urbanization and related changes in dietary and life-style patterns.

One of the main objectives of the conference is to put nutrition in the forefront of human development concerns. Nutritional well-being is one of the prime conditions of human welfare, and a key indicator of socio-economic development. The conference is being viewed as a unique opportunity to emphasize nutrition as an important, fundamental human right, and to help make good nutrition accessible to all.

Academic File

Fabrisio Fontemaggi is a writer and researcher based in Rome.

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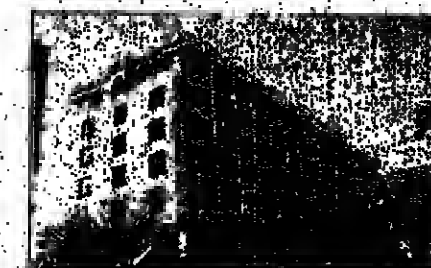


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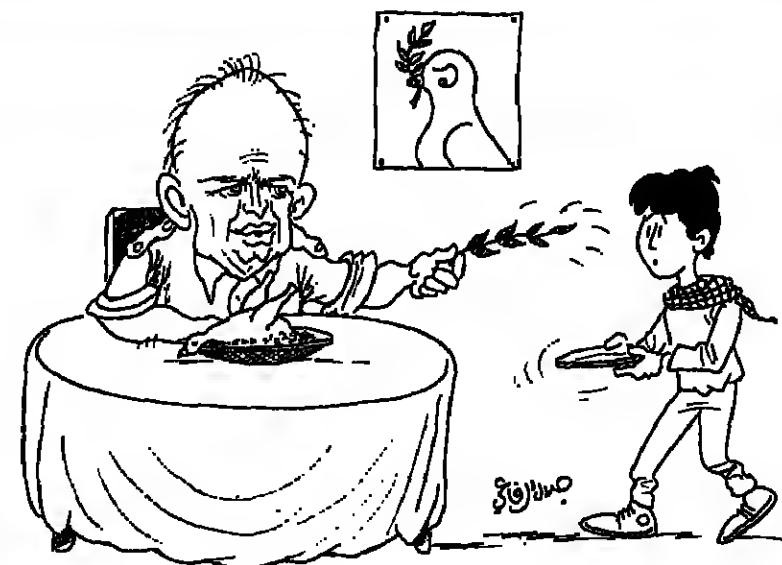
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Jalal Rifa'Ad-Dustour

## Our Say...

### Little boys of the Intifada

WHILE ISRAELI negotiators indulge in diplomatic chicanery in the serene lecture rooms of the US State Department, the Israeli Defense Army is ritually involved in the daily hunting down of Palestinian children. Ironically, it is the peace talks that make the headlines in Washington, not the carnage in the streets of Gaza city or the cobbled alleys of old Hebron. Not even "a call for self-restraint on both sides" from US spokespersons.

The wanton killing of Palestinian boys in their teens has actually increased since the Labor government of Mr Yitzhak Rabin took power last June. The Intifada rages on in all parts of the Occupied Territories and has taken a more violent turn in the last few months. Desperation among the Palestinian populace reflects their mounting disappointment with the pace of the Washington negotiations. Their fears translate into frustration and finally into an open defiance of the occupation.

Frustration works both ways. Israeli soldiers failing to stamp out the Intifada after five years tend to bend the rules — eventually the exception becomes the rule and the rule becomes the ordinary. Thus the world ignores the horror contained in the crime of gunning down a helpless child in cold blood.

Because we are engaged in negotiations with Israel, it becomes "invisible" to call for world condemnation of Israeli actions. Interlocutors become "reserved" about annoying the other side and the sponsors shy away from the bloody aspects of the whole affair. But the ugly fact remains, and once in a while it haunts us.

So what have we, and the Israelis, learned from the Intifada since it first broke out in 1987?

We should have learned that it is unstoppable, no matter what the Israelis do to suppress it. Every now and then its flames subside, as people hope for a near end or are just busy burying their dead and tending to their injured. But no sooner do the Israelis pronounce its demise than we see it reemerging, breaking out like thunder and plunging the occupied and their occupiers in a new cycle of violence.

The Israelis should have read the writing on the wall, literally. Graffiti sprayed on the walls of camp shacks and town buildings is indelible. The Palestinian uprising has come of age. They are fighting for their rights and they will continue to fight until they get them.

And finally, the Israelis should look deep within and search for an ethical reason that would justify the murder of young boys because they refuse to submit. They will not find one. The Intifada's real strength is that it has occupied the moral high ground from day one and has kept it ever since.

If Israel is honest about its peace intentions, it should consider an immediate end to its policy in the Occupied Territories. It should preserve the honor of its troops by keeping them away from staining their uniforms with the blood of the innocent.

And if Israel believes that one-day Israelis and Palestinians will live and co-exist in Palestine, then it should look at the Palestinians as humans and as equals, not as slaves beyond humanity's reach. The Washington talks are about a noble objective. The healing process will take a long time, but it must start now.

## Douglas Hurd Britain's four elements of Mid-East peace

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from a speech delivered by British Foreign Minister Mr Douglas Hurd to the Israel Diaspora Trust in London on Tuesday:

THE JEWISH people have built their state. But they and all the peoples are still plagued by problems. That is the paradox of your achievement. It is a paradox which is easy to explain but which so far has been impossible to solve. The problem is that more than one people lays claim to that corner of the Middle East. We must deal with a conflict between two legitimate nationalisms — Palestinian and Israeli.

That conflict has resulted in international wars, in terrorist attacks, in riots. Most of all, it has resulted in a deep suspicion between the Jewish and Arab peoples. But now at the end of 1992, all sides are beginning to see a different way forward, one which I believe offers a better long term prospect of a settlement — negotiation and a peace process.

The process is halting, somewhat intermittent, somewhat frustrating. Commentators dwell as much on differences and reverses as on common ground and advances. It is natural that the parties should be disappointed that progress has not been quicker or more dramatic. But what is happening now would have been inconceivable just 18 months ago.

If the peace process fails, other factors in the region which are now merely threatening might overwhelm Israel and her neighbors. There is the Iraq of Saddam Hussein, an implacable foe of Israel and the peace process. As long as he is around, Iraq will exploit any weakness or breakdown in the negotiation.

Then there is Iran, a key factor in Lebanon. If there is no peace between Israel and her neighbors, Iran will have scope to cause trouble through its violent proxies in Lebanon and elsewhere. Israel could help reduce this danger by making progress towards implementing Security Council Resolution 425.

Then there is violent Islamic fundamentalism. The peace process is run by moderates. If the moderates on the Arab side can show their people that their moderation promises success, their people will not drift towards the extremism of the fundamentalists. If the moderates fail, they will lose credibility with their own people. Hamas and the like will grow in strength. Violence is likely then to increase.

Outsiders have a limited role in all this. For so far it is less limited than for others. The co-sponsors of the peace process, the Americans and Russians, play the biggest role. The new Clinton administration has a tough task to follow. All the indications are that the President-elect and his team are well aware of President Bush's and Secretary Baker's achievement and will do what they can to build on it. Continuity will be the key in this vital area.

The participation of the European Community is important. The EC plays a leading role in all the multilateral working groups on regional issues. I think we are seeing a significant improvement in relations between Israel and the Community. Recently, both sides have agreed to update the existing cooperation agreement. A Cooperation Council is due to be held under the Danish Presidency. The Community is of fundamental economic importance to Israel, as a market, as a supplier.

Over the last few months, the EC's contribution on issues as diverse as water, refugees, arms control and the environment, has been serious and constructive. We are helping to put in place a framework within which it is possible to imagine Israel and the Arabs making peace.

Our role is partly to encourage. We are urging the Palestinians to engage in serious and detailed negotiation on interim self-government arrangements.

We are urging the Israelis to improve the human rights situation in the Occupied Territories. A complete freeze on settlement activity — which we continue to regard as illegal — would be another positive step Israel could take.

We are urging the Arab States to end their trade boycott of Israel. It is self-defeating. Its bad effects are impossible to quantify. But it certainly damages the prosperity and prospects of the whole region, particularly of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. Lifting the boycott would be the best possible proof of Arab commitment to the peace process. It would enable the Israelis for their part to take confidence-building measures of their own.

Outsiders can also help in this battle for public opinion. There is widespread suspicion of Israel among Arabs and of the Arabs among Israelis. This is an area where Britain, and the EC, can play a role. Britain will not design the peace, but we believe a lasting settlement will probably have to include four key elements.

● Self-determination for the Palestinians. We remain absolutely convinced that there can be no durable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict without solving the Palestinian question. It is for the parties involved to negotiate exactly how to do that, but for the first time the Palestinians are involved, negotiating their own destiny.

● Security for Israel and all the other states in the region. All the parties doubt each other's intentions. Security guarantees look to be an essential part of any settlement.

● Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967. The new Israeli government have accepted that there is a territorial element to their negotiations with Syria. This is important.

● A real peace. The Israelis understandably want full normalization of their relations with their neighbors. The Syrians have spoken for the first time of total peace in exchange for total withdrawal.

Throughout the Middle East, the parties involved have from time to time resorted to force, but in vain. The best way to tackle the region's problems is, of course, to prevent problems from degenerating into conflict — in short, diplomacy and negotiation. Negotiation is the only real way forward. It is not always easy. Sometimes, it does not even seem possible. But at the moment, through hard work on all sides and a shared analysis of what might happen if the talking stopped, there is the chance to make real progress. I hope that all sides are brave enough to seize it.



## Democratizing news — CNN leads the way

By Mouny Berrah

BEIRUT 1985. A TWA airliner has been hijacked. But another event steals the headlines. It is the coverage organized from the airport by the American television channel Cable News Network (CNN), which launches 17 days of on-the-spot reporting, broadcast live around the clock. Relayed by five satellites, the information is picked up across the globe. The impact is worldwide. The coverage itself becomes the event.

Baghdad 1991. War has broken out. The only, tenuous connection between Iraq and the rest of the world is the voice of CNN reporter Peter Arnett, linking the field of operations to millions of homes.

Moscow 1991. CNN has the scoop of the year when it announces the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev from his post as General Secretary of the Communist Party. But the channel's coverage of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square has already confirmed its international pre-eminence.

CNN has built its empire on twin foundations of hard news and international reporting, both underestimated by its competitors. Nor does it neglect human interest stories and business news, even though both these fields are targeted, and even over-exploited by America's three major television networks, ABC, CBS and NBC.

After winning awards for its reporting of the San Francisco earthquake and the stock market crash of October 1987, CNN smashed audience records with its coverage of the rescue of a child who had fallen down a well, the Smith-Kennedy rape trial and the hearings involving Judge Thomas, the candidate for the US Supreme Court who was accused of sexual harassment by a former colleague.

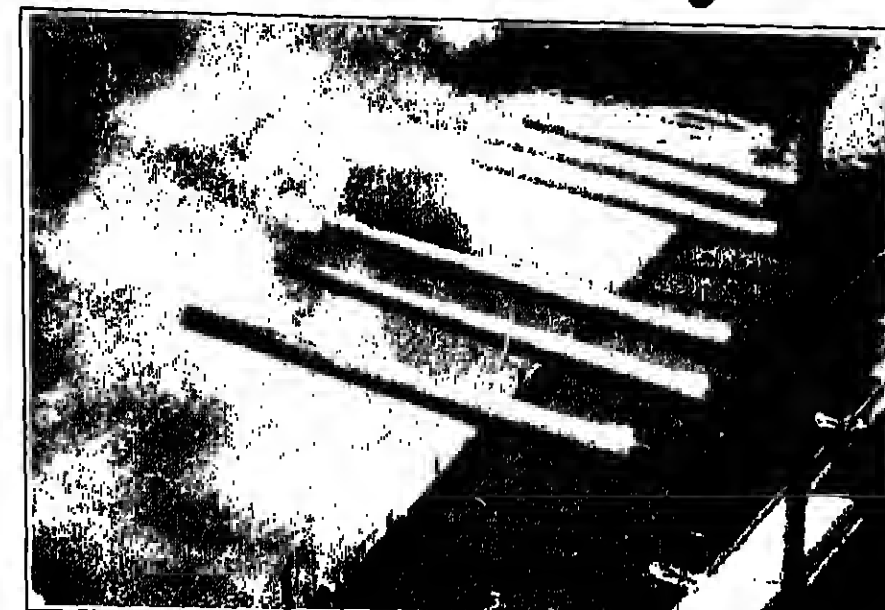
The CNN network actually consists of two channels: CNN, which goes out to 55 million American subscribers, and CNN Headline News, received by 35 million cabled homes. While the former puts out a bulletin every two hours, the latter has continuous transmission with two-hourly updating. Both limit their coverage to news stories, approached in a very flexible manner.

About half the organization's 2,000 journalists and technicians work at its headquarters in Atlanta. There is satellite linkage to 10 regional offices and fifteen bureaux outside the US. CNN images, transmitted by more than 200 independent stations in the United States as well as by 20 more in Asia, Europe and Latin America, feature in many news bulletins.

Nobody can deny that CNN is currently the world's largest news outfit, but the universality of its audience raises some ethical problems for subscribers and professionals alike. Its achievements in the field of the democratization of information are unquestionable.

It has opened up to a large audience aspects of political and social life that were hitherto reserved for elites or specialists, and has made it possible for viewers in countries where the flow of information is controlled to hear commentary and analysis by independent journalists. The network's coverage also benefits from the editorial freedom that direct and continuous coverage of an event can provide. All these statements, made possible by a combination of democracy and technology, help guarantee the press its status as the "Fourth Estate".

But the problems raised are on a par with CNN's global impact. The network operates in one direction only, North-South. Its viewers are not only the technology



The Gulf War: CNN stole the headlines

and the financial resources but also the last word on every subject they cover. In the developing countries, on the other hand, there is often no-one with responsibility for news-gathering. Worse still, information may be manipulated. Even when it is not taboo, press freedom is frequently no more than an abstract notion. In this context, the question of the content and objectivity of news broadcasts received from the North is overshadowed by another, more fundamental one, that of the availability of information.

Matters become more complicated if the

ality shown is only a camera-frame wide — even when the scene has not in fact been set up, because of the need for speed or so as to claim a scoop.

Television has passed on its obsession with speed to the press. To meet the challenge, newspaper stories are less and less likely to be held back for want of checking. Editors are increasingly inclined to run them, accompanied by the now-classic disclaimer "According to unconfirmed reports." Television also sets a particular reporting style, favoring emotion and on-the-spot coverage over analysis and reflection. This puts pressure on the press to modify its own way of presenting the news.

Nowadays many articles read like screenplays, employing verbal effects, suspense, subplots, dying falls. As a result, news reports that once had the authority of public records have become, with a few honourable exceptions, as transient as television images. Journalists are no longer dispassionate observers. Now they are witnesses, like the television camera itself.

Contrary to the commonly-held view, American broadcasting is not a monolithic bloc, despite the dominating role of the major networks. There are masses of independent newspapers and television stations; from 70 in 1972 their numbers have now swelled to more than 300. They have a 25 percent audience share, and are protected by strict legislation, as well as by regulatory mechanisms besting American society's view of the defense of liberties.

In the countries of the Third World, however, the problems inherent in the globalization of information are acute. The developing nations are unable to challenge the process either with their own media or with their perception of world affairs. It is not so much the Third World's failings as its crying needs that have been highlighted by the functioning of the world information system over the past few years.

The South has responded to the dominance of CNN, whose founder sensed at the right moment that the provision of information would be the growth area of the 21st century, with old-fashioned debates about the role of the public and private sectors, freedom of the press and state control, freedom of expression and archaic taboos, a policy of openness or one of closed doors.

The debate on the dangers of one-way communication is still taken more seriously in the North. Here too CNN is in the front line.

Mouny Berrah is an Algerian sociologist and journalist based in Washington D.C. This report is based on an article she wrote for the *Unesco Courier*.

## Arab-American expects continuity in Clinton's foreign policy

By Rosalind Mandline Murphy

THERE WILL be continuity in American foreign policy under the Clinton administration, but with a greater emphasis on promoting human rights and democracy, Dr James Zogby, executive director of the Arab American Institute, predicts.

Zogby reviewed the outcome of the elections during two recent USIA-sponsored WorldNet television programs with Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Zogby is a long-time activist in the Democratic Party and served as deputy campaign manager for Jesse Jackson in the 1984 presidential election. Zogby was also one of over 50 prominent Arab American Democrats who officially endorsed Bill Clinton's presidential campaign.

President-elect Clinton "seems to be intent upon promoting the concept of democracy and promoting human rights," Zogby said.

However, Clinton's policy of promoting human rights and democracy "will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries," Zogby asserted. "There is no indication that these goals will be pursued in a manner that is disruptive," he said.

The Clinton administration will promote human rights and democracy through a policy of providing the "assistance that is necessary" to countries embarked on a democratization process, according to Zogby.

There will be "continuity in the conduct of world affairs" under the Clinton administration, Zogby said. "The United States will remain fairly constant on a variety of policy issues," including the Middle East, he asserted.

The Clinton administration "will pursue (Middle East peace) negotiations on the same principle the Baker/Bush team crafted," Zogby said. Clinton has expressed his "commitment to the ground rules of the peace process," he pointed out.

Present US policy on Iraq will also stay constant under Clinton, at least as long as Saddam Hussein is still in power, Zogby said. "There is every indication that Clinton will pursue the same policy on Iraq as President Bush has," including enforcing United Nations sanctions and isolating Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, he said. Clinton "sees no future in (Saddam Hussein's) leadership in the region."

US ties to the Gulf Cooperation Council states, particularly Saudi Arabia, will remain strong under the Clinton administration, Zogby said. "The relationship is rock solid. I think it will stay that way."

Zogby pointed out that President-elect Clinton telephoned King Fahd after the election and "assured him of US commitment to Saudi Arabia."

Zogby encouraged the Arab and Islamic worlds, Arab leaders, and Arab Americans to "make their opinions heard" in the American political process, particularly on issues of concern such as the peace process, Bosnia, Kashmir, Somalia, nuclear proliferation and the global economy.

"There is a worldwide democratic process unfolding.... The people of the world have the opportunity to get their voices heard and concerns heard in the American political process," he said. As an example, Zogby noted there is a "growing Muslim American presence in Washington," organizing, meeting with members of Congress and raising issues of concern.

Zogby stressed that US foreign policy does not view Islam as a hostile force. The United States views "the diversity of Islam with the respect it deserves," he said. There is an "active and ongoing debate within American foreign policy circles" on US-Islamic relations, he said, adding that the Islamic world "must enter this debate."

USIA

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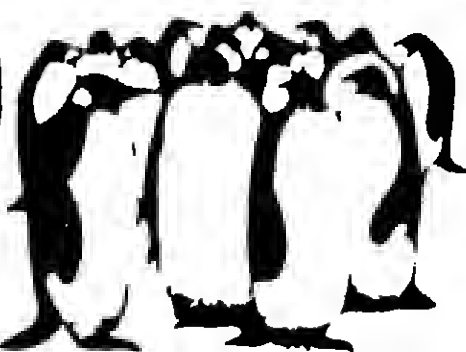
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Editor-in-Chief

Osama El-Sherif



# AROUND TOWN



**Congratulations!!**  
Graduations, appointments, engagements, weddings, newborns, promotions, special awards, excellent achievements.....  
Drop us a line and send a photo...we will run it free of charge in The Star's People and Events page.

## Romania celebrates national day

ROMANIA CELEBRATED its National Day this Tuesday, 1 December. This date marks the anniversary of the 1918 union of Transylvania with Romania, when the centuries-old dream of re-unifying all Romanians within the borders of the national state came true.

To celebrate this occasion, a press conference was held at the Romanian Embassy in Amman. In his address to the Jordanian press Romanian ambassador Mr Anton Pascale gave a brief historical background of his country, and the immense hardships that the Romanian people were forced to endure under the oppressive regimes of the Austro-Hungary Empire and during communist rule.

The drama of 20th century Romania is sadly characterized by two devastating wars, which twice wiped out one-third of the country's population. The emergence of a brutal and dictatorial communist regime shattered and crippled Romania's economy and the psyche of the Romanian people.

The culminating point took place in December 1989, when revolution brought down the dictatorship. The introduction of de-



mocracy and a free market economy, with full reintegration into Europe's political and cultural life was proclaimed.

According to Mr Pascale, the fundamental changes taking place at present are reflected in new governmental economic programs whose main objectives are liberalization of foreign trade, privatization of land and industries and the creation of a new legal framework for a smooth transition to the market economy.

Mr Pascale stressed the fact that in order to promote interna-

tional awareness of foreign investors in Romania, his government has established the Romanian Development Agency, which provides potential investors with the necessary information for investment possibilities. It also facilitates necessary contacts to register new companies.

Mr Pascale went on to say that the recently adopted law on free zones in Romania has promoted international co-operation and attracted foreign capital. As for co-operation between Romania and Jordan, an agreement on promotion and guarantees of investment was signed between the two countries in May 1992.

According to the ambassador, Jordanian businessmen are very active in Romania. Among many other foreign companies, 812 Jordanian companies had been established in the country by the end of September 1992.

Negotiations are taking place at the moment with the Arab Bank to open its branches in Romania. What's more, a joint Romanian-Jordanian project near the Black Sea, dealing with the raising of animals for exportation to Jordan has been very successful. According to Mr Pascale, a Jordanian medicine plant operating in Romania will soon take off the ground.

While promoting Jordanian participation in the Romanian economy, Romanian experts in various fields are studying the possibility of obtaining contracts and tenders in Jordan. A delegation of electrical experts are currently visiting the Kingdom to look into the possibilities of getting a contract for the Karame Dam.

According to Mr Pascale, Jordanian companies have the technology and expertise in many fields, and he welcomes Jordanian businessmen to invest in Romania.



## King awards Jawahiri medal of independence

His Majesty King Hussein bestowed Tuesday the Medal of Independence upon distinguished Iraqi poet Muhammad Mahdi Al Jawahiri, for his significant contribution to modern Arabic literature. During an audience with the King, Mr Al Jawahiri expressed his enormous gratitude and appreciation for the kind and warm reception he received. He also expressed his admiration for Jordan's leading literary role.



Ideal Systems Co, the authorized Apple dealer in Jordan, recently hosted their semi-annual Apple Dealers Meeting. Organized by Arab Business Machines, regional distributors for Apple Computers in the Middle East, the meeting was held in Amman at the Marriott Hotel between 21 and 23 November. Presentations were also given by the participants, who discussed issues of technology in the region, including new products for 1993. The Apple market share in the Middle East currently ranges between 18 and 22 percent.



## Agenda

### FILMS

● This Thursday 3 December, and also on Sunday 6 December at the American Center, the Disney classic 'Peter Pan' will be shown at 5:00 pm. And on Tuesday 8 December, the American Center will also present ABC News Weekly Highlights and The MacNeil Lehrer News Hour.

● During its Shakespeare festival this week, the British Council will be showing the movie 'William Shakespeare: A Biographical Introduction' on Monday 7 December. Also showing on Wednesday 9 December will be the Franco Zeffirelli production of 'Romeo and Juliet'. Both movies begin at 7:00 pm.

● The Spanish Cultural Center is opening its Spanish Film Week on Saturday 5 December at 8:00 pm. The opening will feature the movie 'Mujeres Al Borde de un Ataque de Nervios' (Women on the Edge of a Nervous Breakdown) at the Royal Cultural Centre. Other films will follow. On 6 December there is 'Montoya Y Taramos'; 7 December 'La Plaza Del Diamante'; 'Epilogo' on 8 December and 'Valentina' on 9 December.

comber. All films start at 8:00 pm.

● ... and at the French Cultural Center 'Les Visites du Sol' will be showing on Monday 7 December at 8:00 pm.

### EXHIBITIONS

● Under the patronage of Her Royal Highness Princess Nafsa Bin Ali, the Alia Art Gallery is opening an exhibition of paintings by Turki Abed Al Amir on Thursday 3 December at 5:30.

● Under the patronage of Mrs Nawzad Shaker, the Balka Art Gallery will host the sculptures of Mona Saudi on Sunday 6 December at 5:00 pm in Fuheis.

### LECTURE

● The FOA center invites you to attend a lecture at its premises on the 'Protection of the Cultural Heritage in Jordan: Proposals for a Comprehensive Legislative Approach'. Dr Gaetano Palumbo will introduce the subject and then open the meeting for discussion. The lecture commences at 7:00 pm, Monday 7 December.

### BINGO EVENING

● The Royal Automobile Club will be organizing a Bingo evening for its members on Thursday 3 December at 8:00 pm.

December  
1992

# The World Paper

INSIDE  
INDIA'S HIDDEN STORY

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES



World media have Pavlovian instincts: the Middle East means the Arab-Israeli conflict, Spain is the Barcelona Olympics and Guatemala is a sleepy republic. But the stories that make the front page are not always the ones that deserve the most attention. Before big events dominate the news, quiet processes are often at work changing history. The following pages feature important and underreported stories from Russia, India, Myanmar (Burma), Jordan and Guatemala.

ON AUGUST 21, 1991, we in Russia sighed with relief and joy. With the putschists who tried to topple Gorbachev under arrest, the coup had failed and democracy had won.

Or had it?

It is hard to tell from the goings-on inside the walls of Moscow's Matrosskaya Tishina Prison. From their concrete seat of power, the August putschists are acting like a government-in-exile, issuing statements on the economy and politics, and heaping scorn on the Russian leaders, whom their fellow travelers (Communist conservatives in this case) refer to as "the provisional occupation government of Yeltsin-Gaidar."

The former vice president, Gennadi Yanayev, has made appearances on TV and the former chairman of the Soviet

parliament, Anatoly Lukyanov, has appeared in print, sounding like a Russian Thomas Jefferson in articles published in the Moscow daily and former party organ *Pravda*.

"What we need," Lukyanov writes, "is

Alexander Pumptanski is *The World Paper* associate editor for Russia.

## The last hurrah

BY ALEXANDER PUMPIANSKI, in Moscow, CIS



August 10, 1991: The making of a Matrosskaya Tishina inmate

popular representation with its roots in Russian history, reflecting the specific features of Russian reality. We need communes, public gatherings in villages, elected district councils, soviets of workers, peasants' and soldiers' deputies." Concluding, Lukyanov writes: "The state system is firm if it has deep roots in the life of the people, in their experience."

There are plenty of examples in history of governments in exile. It is uniquely Russian, however, to have one that is in prison—but at least this pseudo-government was placed "in power" by legal means.

Beyond the walls of Matrosskaya Tishina, there are two important trials taking place: the trial of the members of the former State Emergency Committee (the putschists) and the constitutional court's ruling on the legality of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree outlawing the Communist Party (which is, in effect, a trial of the Communist Party). It is a state of affairs which would have been unthinkable at almost any time during the last 70 years.

Yeltsin's decree clearly marks the end of an era. Some claim that Yeltsin acted like a czar in making such a sweeping decree. In reality, he acted more like the king in the children's book *The Little Prince* who commanded the sun to rise in the morning, and to set in the evening: the party was already dead by the time Yeltsin had made his decree.

Continued on next page

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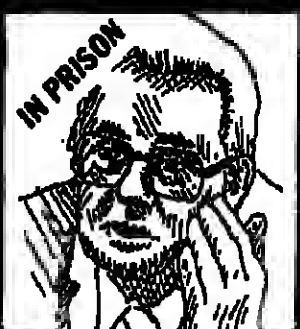
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## BEHIND THE HEADLINES



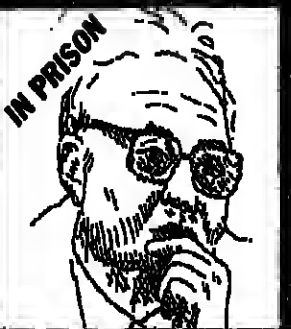
Gennadi Yanayev:  
The forgotten man



Valentin Pavlov:  
Stock market advisor



Dmitri Yazov:  
Writes poetry



Vladimir Kryuchkov:  
Nothing to be ashamed of



Vasili Starodubchev:  
Back in kolkhoz

SOURCE: NOWA EUROPA, WARSAW

## The last hurrah

Continued from previous page

As an organization embodying the communist ideal, it had died in 1917, or at least by 1937. The pro-democracy advocates had nothing to do with its demise, the party was murdered by the Bolsheviks or by Stalin. By August 1991, it was dead too as an organization of government. In that light, the putschists' actions were more like a macabre dance of zombies than the actions of any political force.

Opinion is divided about whether Gorbachev should have been summoned to court as a witness in the constitutional court's deliberations. But the most curious development is why the current inmates of Matrosskaya Tishina have not been summoned; it would be hard to find more consistent and resolute champions of the cause and of the system of absolute rule it created. It is an odd situation: the putsch was a desperate attempt to save the party—but the putschists are not being blamed for its failure.

The metamorphosis of the key putschists when they were in power mirrors the party's metamorphosis. At the height of their careers they all belonged to the party elite: Vladimir Kryuchkov was a Politburo member; Dmitri Yazov (former minister of defense) and Anatoly Lukyanov were alternate members of the Politburo; Gennadi Yanayev was a Central Committee secretary and a Politburo member; and Oleg Baklanov was a Central Committee secretary.

At Gorbachev's insistence, they quit their party posts without any visible regret, but retained their civilian government functions as, respectively, KGB chief, defense ministry chief, speaker of parliament, and vice president. Stripped of their party positions, they were actually stronger than when they had to stand behind Gorbachev. To hell with the party—they had all the power and they knew it.

But by August 19, 1991, they were beginning to grasp the fact that they

could no longer control events. The process of society's liberation from totalitarian rule had gained too much momentum. As they saw their power slipping away from them, they panicked.

It is both humorous and pathetic to see that, in spite of everything, their mentality has not changed. Personalities aside, they are identical in their thinking. They marvel at how they can be accused of plotting against the government when they were the government. They claim that they never acted on any concrete orders from anyone, they were merely acting in the best interest of the motherland.

The putschists so desperately want to be seen as heroes, and yet none of them wants to take responsibility for what happened; they are either the last heroes of the Soviet Union, or the first criminals of the Russian Federation. History will have the last laugh. The putschists are obviously unaware of the irony that a "government in prison" is the mirror image of "criminals in power."

The other trial, the constitutional court's deliberations on the legality of Yeltsin's decree outlawing the Communist Party, is viewed here with little interest. After all, the legality question is puzzling: a dissolved and banned political party is being put on trial by a court which derives its authority from the dissolved and banned political party's constitution.

In the US, the Constitution's legitimacy is based on the historic Declaration of Independence and the constitutional amendments as they have evolved over the last 200 years. In our case, several constitutions were bestowed on the people by the party. None of them were ever canceled, but by the same token none of them were ever put into effect either.

Still, the Communist Party should be congratulated for its far-sightedness. Never before have the Communists invoked the power of the constitution to

defend an individual, but now that they are the ones facing the judges, they are trying to use it to defend themselves from the people.

Ex-officials and stars of the Communist Party have been summoned to the proceedings and it has been a depressing spectacle to watch the procession of dullards who were in charge of running our lives. Indeed, over its 70 years of unyielding sway over the country, the party failed to produce a single individual who could convincingly champion its cause (or, at very least, put forward a leader with some—any—charisma).

The current clamor for a multiparty system, however, obscures the fact that from the very beginning, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in reality a multiparty institution.

There was the Party of Power, which was the party of government. It was a party built on the strict lines of government bureaucracy, in which everyone knew their place. The Party of Power consisted of the top leader and his retinue, 20 or 30 members of the Politburo and the Secretariat, and several hundred regional leaders.

The Party of Power was surrounded and reinforced by the Party of Demagoguery. This party consisted of tens of thousands of people obliged to serve the authority and perpetuate "the secret"—the secret of the dictatorial absolutism of the Party of Power. They helped to promote the illusion in everyone's mind of an alleged link between the Communist Party and the people.

Then there was the Party of Apathy, comprising the voiceless millions of the rank and file. And lastly, everyone not in the Communist Party (including the members of the Young Communist League, the Young Pioneers and Octobrists) were members of the Party Without Choice.

The old party slogan "the people and the party are one" is, sadly, not altogether untrue. The party was able to make everyone an accomplice in its charade. In this sense, there are no truly innocent members of our society, except perhaps the dissidents. Even the Party of Apathy is accountable.

Unlike the responsibility borne by the narrow coterie of the Party of Power and Party of Demagoguery, the Party of Apathy's moral accountability is more personal.

When one inspects the faces of the once-VIP witnesses and listens to their naive arguments, it is obvious how much we have gained as a society to have finally rid ourselves of these men. In unison they curse perestroika and condemn Gorbachev, not Yeltsin, as the source of their troubles. Of course, they are right. It was Gorbachev who transferred power from the party to the presidency; and it was Gorbachev who let the genie of glasnost out of the bottle, unveiling the weakness of the party's authority.

In the days of perestroika, first-class party dullards were replaced with second- and third-class party dullards. Those who ran the party apparatus were put there through power politics; it was obvious personality had nothing to do with it. What else could explain the presence of these dull, dim men who were unable to speak or write coherently, who couldn't even read from a piece of paper?

Old-timers may remember that the late and unlamented Mikhail Suslov, for years the party ideologist, rode around Moscow in his big, black limousine, rarely going faster than 30 kilometers per hour. Whenever he ventured out from behind the Kremlin walls for a ride at his funeral-procession pace, Moscow traffic came to a grinding halt. As an example of what the Communist Party did to the country, it's hard to find a better metaphor than Suslov.

Though the judges of the constitutional court are working hard, what they will eventually prove is what everyone considers obvious. The judges have heard the testimony of many expert witnesses. But every citizen of our country is an expert witness—and victim, participant and judge as well.

No one is really interested in the verdicts the courts will announce. The simple truth is that the judgment of history has already been handed down and become reality.

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

## Myanmar's reluctant junta

Fear of reprisal keeps Burmese military in control

By M.G.G. PILLAI  
in Yangon, Myanmar

THE MASS MEDIA'S coverage of the world within a biased and arbitrary framework, based on reducing news to the lowest common denominator, inevitably results in misreporting and misunderstanding. In fewer places in Asia is this more evident than in Myanmar, as Burma is now called.

The media's distortion in this case stems from a deliberate US policy of designating Myanmar a "gross" violator

of human rights and a major exporter of heroin and other pernicious drugs. The target of all this is the ruling junta, known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which is given no credit for what it has achieved and is blamed for every conceivable wrong.

Four years ago, when General Ne Win's government called it a day, SLORC took over amidst student rioting and an attempt to seize power by U Nu, the former civilian prime minister replaced by Ne Win in 1962. The student demonstrators were encouraged by the presence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Myanmar's founding father, who had returned from her home in Oxford in 1988 to care for her ailing mother.

Aung San Suu Kyi soon became the focal point of government opposition, and the government's cautious handling of her egged on the demonstrators.

After the imposition of a state of emergency and martial law in early August 1988, the demonstrations turned bloody. Security forces and police cracked down on demonstrators. According to a 1989 Amnesty International report: "Burmese authorities stated that 450 people had been killed between September 18 and mid-October, and the official radio station continued to report sporadic killings of 'looters,' 'undisciplined elements' and 'people bent on violence.'"

The junta closed schools and universities, made many arrests and imposed a curfew as it shut itself off from the rest of the world.

In May of 1990, the government held elections to the People's Assembly for the purpose of forming a new legislature to write a new constitution. Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD), an umbrella organization of opposition parties, won 90 percent of

the seats. By all accounts the elections were fair, but the junta subsequently refused to hand over power. The NLD called on the junta to resign. Its leader, Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest, but all indications suggest that she is being treated well, largely because the armed forces are unsure of what to do with her.

The junta is confident it can neutralize her role as an opposition leader. One member said that the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to her in 1991 even strengthened the junta's hand. Maj. Gen. Khin Nyunt, secretary gen-

eral of SLORC, is adamant that "Mrs. Michael Aris (Suu Kyi's married name)"—as he referred to her during an interview—can return to her permanent residence in Oxford any time she likes. He claims that she evokes little sympathy and support. This is difficult to prove one way or another, but much support for his view does exist in Myanmar. The government, meanwhile, has announced a timetable for a return to civilian government and the subsequent convening of a constitutional commission to start work on a new constitution early next year.

In August of this year, the government reopened colleges and universities after a four-year shutdown that followed the demonstrations and violence of 1988. The students and the junta both seem shocked by the events that took place four years ago and reluctant to confront each other again.

The government has systematically set up the machinery for a return to civilian rule, but the armed forces are clearly worried about retaliation under a civilian administration. SLORC has asked the NLD leaders to state their views on the armed forces and the role they would play in the new civilian government.

The fact is that, as in almost all Third World and developing nations, the armed forces are the best-organized segment of society. In countries like Myanmar, Indonesia and Vietnam, the armed forces' position in national life was defined by their roles in wars of independence. Since Myanmar has been ruled by the military, either as a junta or as a government of military officers turned civil-

The most impressive accomplishment of the junta is the systematic development of the country. Isolated and faced with several insurgencies, Myanmar is also plagued with a 4,000-mile long border with several countries (Bangladesh, India, China, Laos and Thailand) and 1,200 miles of coastline. Until the Burmese Communist Party surrendered in 1989, after China withdrew support, the government had no control over border areas and drug smuggling was endemic.

A recent visit to the border areas presents a picture of a government that is not quite sure how to go about shutting off the drug pipeline. But, as in Indonesia in the 1970s, the military has made progress in developing the infrastructure in outlying areas. Schools and hospitals are built with monotonous regularity, as are roads.

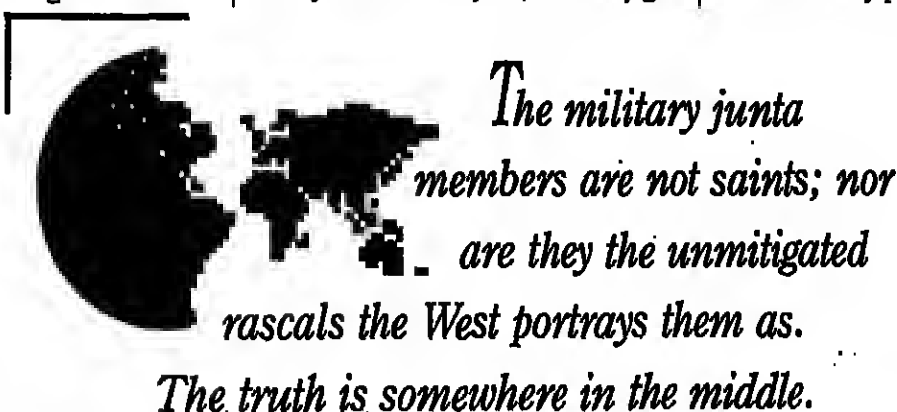
The military precision used in these development projects is impressive enough, but this is often accomplished with a heavy hand. There have been human rights violations committed in the process, but no better or no worse than in neighboring and other seemingly democratic countries.

What the Myanmar junta did to overturn the election results was no different from what the Algerian junta did when it annulled the results of its elections when the fundamentalist Islamic party threatened to overwhelm the government. But one is criticized and the other praised, suggesting either a double standard or the belief that a military crackdown against Islamic fundamentalists is acceptable, but what happened in Myanmar is not. Even President Alberto Fujimori's actions in Peru were given the nod after a pro forma protest by the US.

The Myanmar junta's stated intention is to return to the barracks, where it can concentrate on stepping up operations against the remaining insurgencies. Western press reports suggest that all this is a smoke screen to entrench the junta in power. Maybe, but the fact is that the military cannot be ignored in Myanmar, as it cannot be in Thailand, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, South Korea, Taiwan and most countries in Latin America and Africa.

The military junta members are not saints; nor are they the unmitigated rascals the West portrays them as. The truth is somewhere in the middle. It is hard to fault their nationalism. They are doing, as far as can be gathered, the best job they or anyone in Myanmar can do, but they are faced with serious obstacles.

Despite these handicaps, much progress is evident. Past policies have been turned on their head, and regardless of the world media's view, there is a systematic attempt to set things right in Myanmar.



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## BEHIND THE HEADLINES



## In hollow praise

A critique of the UN

BY TARZIE VITTACHI  
in New York, USA

THE SUDDEN resignation in late October of Mohammed Sahnoun, the United Nations' representative in charge of coordinating the humanitarian relief effort in Somalia, highlights a tug-of-war

over the role and personality of the UN in a post-Cold War world.

Sahnoun quit in exasperation over the UN's slow response to the crisis in Somalia after an exchange of accusations with Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali. But the contretemps symbolizes a much larger and deeper identity crisis for the world body.

For 48 years the UN was not regarded as a serious place of business for the world because the big powers that established the UN and its agencies were embroiled in Cold War geopolitics. It was a titanic power game to win the hearts and minds of the rest of the world—that is, the so-called Third World, which is home to three-fourths of the human race.

The people and governments in the Third World were more interested in their own development than in the global ambitions of the superpowers. Through the non-aligned movement, they were able to indulge in their own game: playing both ends against the middle for their

own national benefit.

Washington constantly beefed that the UN was biased in favor of the Soviet Union because the group of 77 (the non-aligned) was not willing to dance to the tune of "Yankee Doodle Dandy." The General Assembly was seen as a collection of fellow-travelling deadbeats.

Washington was mortified when the Tanzanian representative, Salim Salim, danced a jig in the chamber when mainland China was readmitted to the UN. That offense served to keep Salim, a brilliant African economist, out of the running for the post of secretary-general when Africa's turn came. The US preferred to go with Butros Butros Ghali, who is by no stretch of the imagination a black African, which is what Africans expected.

That is the reason for the readiness of Butros Ghali to play American ball without the slightest demur. There is little evidence to contradict the notion that all the praise being heaped upon the UN these days is the result of a sense of satisfaction in the US and among its NATO allies that the organization can be used again for their geopolitical purposes. The reduction of Russia to the status of client state of the US and its readiness not to use its veto, except at the behest of the US, has made the UN even more malleable.

And since the founders, in effect, were the US, UK, Soviet Union, France and China (who called themselves the United Nations because they were five nations united against fascism), there is a sort of perverse logic to their elation that the UN is doing their bidding.

The problem is not logic but history, past and present. The UN was not intended to serve the purpose of what people need now, 50 years after the end of World War II. The UN charter itself is a document enshrining the virtues of an outmoded political concept: the national state as a viable unit of managing the Earth's resources for the benefit of all peoples.

The UN, as it is structured and directed, can only serve the purposes of these power elites, East and West, North and South. And it is not possible to change the Charter, the principles of membership, etcetera, unless all five of the "permanent" members agree not to veto the proposal. Russia now might agree, but will the Chinese? The Germans and the Japanese are demanding a place on the Security Council. Economic power will work in their favor.

If the charter is changed for this purpose, India, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Brazil and Indonesia will also demand seats on the Council. It will be an interesting exercise in power politics among people who talk poetically about abolishing the "scourge of war" and living up to the "ideals of the founders," when the simple truth is that power elites are seeking more power to control those countries that have none.

Tarzie Vittachi, from Sri Lanka, has worked for UNICEF and UNFPA, and is an associate editor at large of *The WorldPaper*.

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## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

## Skin deep: Caste and class in India

Deeply entrenched, age-old caste system divides the nation despite modernization

BY ARUN CHACKO  
in New Delhi, India

REGARDLESS of what your stereotypes of India are (a major power still struggling with rural poverty, a land of sacred cows and nuclear weapons technology), the fact is that modernization has had little impact on India's caste divisions. Just ask the relatives of Chuni Kotal.

Chuni was a member of the low-caste Lodhs community and was brought up in indescribable poverty. The youngest of seven children, in 1985 she became the first university graduate in her community and enrolled at Vidyasagar University in Midnapore, West Bengal, to earn a master's degree in anthropology.

She was systematically persecuted by the higher castes at the university, in both the hostel where she worked to support her family and in the hostel where she lived. Her professors openly humiliated her, calling her "a lowly born Lodhs who, like all Lodhs, has a criminal past" and encouraged their colleagues and students to do the same, which they did. Between 1990 and 1992, Chuni was often marked absent when in class, and was prevented twice from taking her master's examination. On August 16, she killed herself.

There are two generally erroneous perceptions about India: that religious

Arun Chacko is *The WorldPaper* associate editor for South Asia.

tension between the majority Hindus and minority Muslims is the primary conflict in the country, and that with increasing education and urbanization, millennia-old caste divisions in Hindu society are rapidly eroding.

The reality is that the Hindu-Muslim conflict is certainly better publicized. But until the recent upsurge of Islamic fundamentalism followed by Hindu revivalism, the two communities lived at peace in most parts of the country. Huge sections of India, notably in the south and east, have had few religious conflicts. (At least until the communal temperature perceptibly increased in a dispute over a medieval religious shrine at Ayodhya in central India. Hindu fundamentalists claim intolerant Muslim invaders built a mosque over a demolished temple site that marked the birthplace of Lord Rama, a major Hindu deity.)

Existing discrimination against Muslims hardly matches the invariably unreported and frequent atrocities perpetrated by high-caste Hindus on low-caste ones. Hindu society is divided into four main acceptable castes, with an almost equal number of untouchables. For centuries these latter groups have been victims of the most unspeakable violence and discrimination.

Education, wealth and power have been concentrated in the upper castes, who have invoked religious texts in their arguments against allowing lower castes access to quality education. A prevailing sense of fatalism and fear has made the lower castes endure their lot,

and this continues.

Low castes continue to be victims of organized, large-scale violence. They toil as landless labor and their women are routinely molested by high-caste landlords. When victims protest, reprisals can result in the wholesale slaughter of low-caste village communities.

Injustices to them are often not even registered, much less punished by the largely hostile high-caste police and administrative bureaucracy. And journalists, coming from the same upper socio-economic class, rarely take up cudgels on the lower castes' behalf. Even in better-educated circles, caste is never far from the surface.

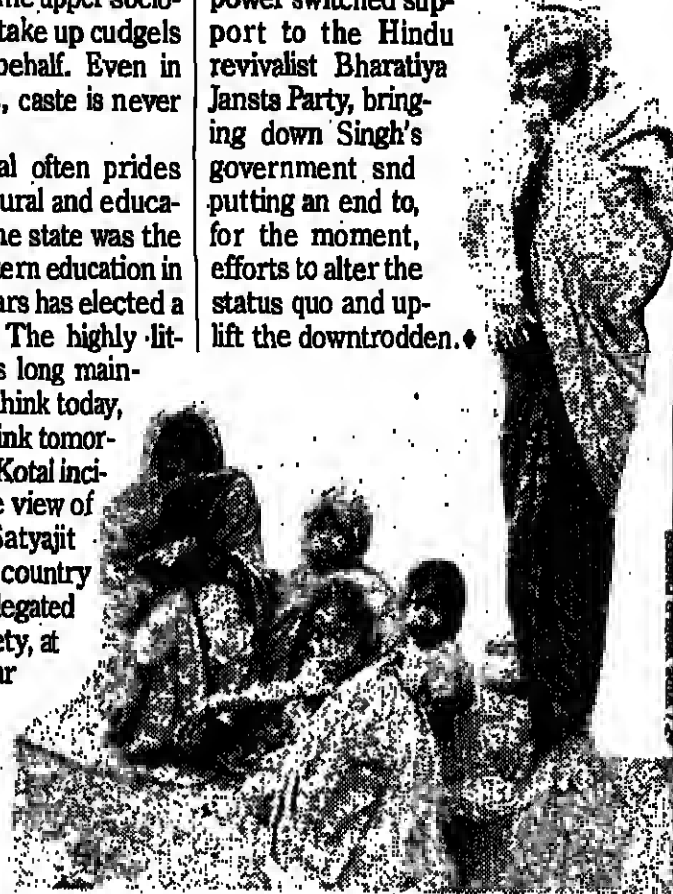
For example, Bengal often prides itself on its social, cultural and educational advancement. The state was the first beneficiary of Western education in the East, and for 25 years has elected a Marxist government. The highly literate, artistic Bengalis long maintained that what they think today, the rest of India will think tomorrow. But as the Chuni Kotal incident demonstrates, the view of the intelligentsia in Satyajit Ray and Ravi Shankar country that caste has been "relegated to the sidewalks of society, at least in Bengal," is far from accurate.

"Chuni couldn't have survived her Hunters," says Mahasweta Devi, a Bengali novelist and campaigner for tribal

rights. "They are mainstream people good at liquidation. I have yet to come across a deadlier and more organized hunting of human beings."

If confirmation is needed, it was amply provided by the behavior of the high castes when in 1990 former Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh tried to reserve jobs for low castes and generally improve their lot. The high castes launched a nationwide campaign of agitation bringing north India to a halt. Some students immolated themselves and became public heroes. Others went on a rampage, destroying public property while their affluent, well-placed parents looked on approvingly.

Large sections of the previously secular Hindu intelligentsia who had brought Singh to power switched support to the Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party, bringing down Singh's government and putting an end to, for the moment, efforts to alter the status quo and uplift the downtrodden.



## An end in sight to Punjab rebellion

Police and unpopular tactics take the steam out of Sikh rebels' war

terrorists taking refuge in the shrine, part of which was destroyed in the process. As a result, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards. Thereafter, this city on the border of Pakistan has lived in an endless cycle of terrorist violence, police repression and curfews.

Today, there are many signs of change. In the industrial hub of Ludhiana, for instance, shops now remain open until 7:30 p.m., and women can be seen out shopping alone until late evening. The industrial climate is picking up, with investments, productivity and profits showing impressive growth.

Recent months have seen some significant police successes. In 1992, scores of high-ranking terrorists were killed. (In Punjab, terrorists survive an average of only three years.) Recruitment to the militant cause has peaked. "Youngsters still join the militants," says Punjab Police Chief K. P. S. Gill (who is a Sikh). "But rather than go

on to become hardcore terrorists in a year, they often return to civilian life."

Having been put on the defensive in the last few months, the militants have gone after low-level police officials and distant members of their families. In one seven-day period they struck thrice, killing 58 people. But such tactics have backfired. The gap between militants and the rank and file, whose sympathy and support is critical for their effectiveness, has perceptibly widened.

Today, the Punjab police force exudes a quiet confidence. It has been fighting militancy for 10 years, and has become efficient and effective. Its motivation and success rate is high. Coordination between the various security forces and the Indian Army is good.

In the wake of strenuous efforts to check police atrocities and to nip them in the bud, villagers are no longer afraid to inform of acts of suspicious activity.

Police Chief Gill is optimistic. "Final victory may be far away, but the decisive battle has been won." Meanwhile, terrorist killings by the end of September 1992 were half of last year's total for the same period.

However, it is unlikely to be smooth sailing for the security forces. Those encouraging Punjab's terrorism and supplying the militants with money and high-caliber arms from abroad continue to do so and are unlikely to stop anytime soon.

Some of the successes against terrorism can certainly be attributed to the Indian Army's presence. There is considerable apprehension that things will worsen once it withdraws. Most of rural Punjab opposes the Indian government's plan to withdraw the Army from civilian duty at the end of the year, and as a result the plan to do so may be temporarily shelved.

Nevertheless, the writing is on the wall. Increasingly marginalized and fragmented, former advocates of an independent Sikh state want to return to mainstream politics. It is not love for an integrated India, but the rapidly diminishing possibility of a separate Sikh state that is causing them to do so.



## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

## Down in the dumps

### The scavengers of Guatemala City

BY ANA LORENA FARRACH  
AND JORGE CHACON  
in Guatemala City

EVERY EVENING between 9 and 10 p.m., a chauffeur-driven car parks near the Villa de Guadalupe market. A uniformed maid steps out of the car and drops two large black plastic bags in a

dark corner. She hurries back to the car and is driven away.

Twelve hours later, a yellow garbage truck passes through a gate and moves slowly and with difficulty over uneven, garbage-strewn ground. The truck stops and dumps its contents, which includes the two large black plastic bags. Suddenly, people rush at the truck from

every direction, pushing, shoving and swearing as they fight over the truck's load, searching for scrap metal, cardboard, glass, paper and other recyclable items—and anything to eat.

The existence of these people is largely unknown to those who have their garbage picked up, or to those who, like the maid, surreptitiously drop it in dark corners of the city. Whether they know it or not, they provide food and a living to the 1,300 people living in the city's dump, known here as *guajeros* (scavengers).

Although the above scene took place in Guatemala, it is by no means exclusive to this country. All over the world, wherever there is hunger and poverty,

similar scenes take place. Guatemala City's dump, known as *El Trebol*, is like many others in the developing world. It is a ravine in what used to be the outskirts of the city, but is now situated in the city's center. For decades all kinds of waste has been dropped here, and will continue to be dumped here until the ravine is filled. Experts estimate that will take less than 25 years.

The day of a *guajero* begins in the late morning, when the yellow trucks arrive. After sifting through the garbage (about 830 tons arrive daily) and collecting as much sellable or edible material as possible, the *guajero* sets off to sell the collected goods.

There are many *guajero* families living in *El Trebol*, the average consisting of five or six children. Each member of the family helps with the various tasks of collecting and sorting items, yet even with their resources pooled, the families still live in extreme poverty. They live in cardboard hovels in subhuman conditions, sometimes sleeping without a roof over their heads. City officials worry about the possibility of "wasteslides" killing hundreds of people.

But now things are beginning to change. City authorities are trying to improve the living conditions of the *guajeros* with the help of aid from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). JICA was solicited for help and came up with two proposals. The first was to move the city's dump site to another, safer location farther away, but this plan was canceled when opposition arose due to the belief that "the Japanese want to dump toxic waste there."

An alternate proposal by JICA is now being put into effect. Instead of moving the dump, efforts are being made to improve the dump and the living and working conditions of the *guajeros*. With US\$2.5 million in aid from JICA, the city has built 30 houses inside the perimeter of *El Trebol* (the *guajeros* did not want to move away from their livelihood) and plans to build another 60.

The aid has also paid for a children's day care center that provides three hot meals a day and has complete medical facilities. Soccer and baseball fields and an open-air theater are in the planning stage. Heavy machinery (four front loaders, four dump trucks and two bulldozers) arrived in October to improve the dump and prevent dangerous garbage slides and fires.

The city has focused its efforts on the children rather than adults, believing that children can be better equipped to create lives outside the dump. Many of the older *guajeros* have lived in the dump for so long that they now know of no other life. Teenagers are being given career training in carpentry, bakery, and other trades so they can find work beyond the boundaries of *El Trebol*, but a generation may lapse before the *guajeros* are able to rely on anything more than other people's garbage to survive.

Ana Lorena Farrach is editor and Jorge Chacon assistant editor of the Guatemala City-based monthly *Revista Gaceta*.

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## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

## The savvy survivor of Jordan

### A stable king and land

BY OSAMA EL-SHERIF  
in Amman, Jordan

ON THE EVE of the Gulf War, the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan was singled out for its vulnerability. Analysts inside and outside the Arab world foresaw the beginning of a political transformation of the whole region. The crisis reached its climax when war broke out, unleashing forces that shook the political, economic and social foundations of most, if not all, Arab countries.

The days of King Hussein looked numbered to many Western observers who believed that the longest-serving head of state in the area had made a fatal miscalculation. They were wrong.

Not only did the king survive one of the most trying periods of his 40-year rule, but he emerged stronger and more popular, crowning decades of statesmanship, political insight and ability to steer his country through the many tempests of the volatile Middle East.

It all began in the mid-1940s when most Arab countries were shedding the legacy of decades of colonial rule. Seemingly independent, a mosaic of Arab states embarked on a difficult search for a political formula that would work in a deeply polarized world. These were the years when Arab dogma centering on Arab nationalism, socialism and anti-Zionism was born. These were also the years when traditional forms of leadership were toppled by so-called popular revolutions, which were in fact army-orchestrated coups and counter-coups.

The royalty of Egypt, Iraq, Libya and Yemen were chased out and, in most cases, brutally murdered by angry mobs. Young and ambitious army officers assumed power and turned their traditional patriarchal societies into "progressive" republics.

The new leaders promised freedom and bread and an Arab brand of socialism. Thus Nasserism, the Baath (Resurrection) movement and other offshoots of Arab nationalism became the dominant political forces of the day, often clashing with each other. Monarchies were in full retreat. They were thought to be relics of the past, unable to satiate popular hunger for economic, social and political advancement.

But, when more than one million Jordanians thronged in the streets of the capital of Amman last September to greet King Hussein, who was returning

Osama El-Sherif is *The WorldPaper* associate editor for the Middle East.



Ecstatic crowds greet King Hussein on his return from cancer surgery in the US last September.

from the US after recovering from a cancer operation, die-hard Nasserites reminisced about the golden days of the late Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser. Only Nasser, who in the 1950s and 1960s assumed the mantle of Arab nationalism and championed the cause of occupied Palestine, could have inspired a similar mesmerizing effect over Arab masses.

The only country that was spared the bloodbaths of the 1950s and 1960s was Jordan. Its constitutional monarchy survived coup attempts, army rebellions, foreign interventions and more than four decades of bitter enmity with Israel to its west.

During the last four decades, King Hussein has emerged as a phenomenon in Arab leadership. Reigning over his small and vulnerable kingdom, he has distinguished himself from other Arab leaders by his moderation, openness to the West, vision and statesmanship.

While the cycle of violence and bloodletting continues to wreak havoc on the peoples of neighboring Arab states, Jordan has enjoyed years of tranquility marked by nation-building. What differentiates King Hussein from other Arab leaders is his unique style: modest, down-to-earth, courageous and sensitive to the needs of his people.

Instead of executions and banishments, he has pardoned his foes and made them ministers and ambassadors. His courage during the late 1950s and early 1960s in dealing with local and foreign challenges was remarkable. Even when the odds were against him and his country, both were able to survive. In the process, King Hussein was able to save half his kingdom from Israeli occupation when Israel defeated Egypt, Syria and Jordan in the 1967 War.

When Palestinians fled their homes in

1948 in fear of being killed by occupying Israelis, they found refuge in Jordan. The same drama was repeated a second time in 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank, which had been a part of Jordan since 1950. In Jordan, the refugees were given shelter, land and work, but most importantly, they became citizens with the same rights as any Jordanian.

More than two decades later, a third wave of more than 300,000 Palestinian and Jordanian expatriates headed for Jordan, this time from Kuwait in the aftermath of Iraq's occupation of the oil-rich emirate. King Hussein was at the airport to meet and personally welcome the first batch of returnees.

When the Gulf crisis erupted in August 1990, the king was close to the pulse of his people and opted to risk his longtime friendship with the US and the Gulf Arabs rather than join the allies in their quest to evict the Iraqis from Kuwait.

King Hussein has become the symbol of national unity in a highly diverse society. His illness last August caught the population of 3.7 million Jordanians unprepared. Many Jordanians could not imagine Jordan without King Hussein. Foreign correspondents covering the return of the king were astonished by the expression of genuine love and admiration Jordanians felt for their leader.

The massive reception for the king has focused light once again on the role of the Hashemites—the king's clan which is in direct descent from the Prophet Mohammad—in Pan-Arab political evolution, which began with the Great Arab Revolt of the Sharif of Mecca against Ottoman domination earlier this century.

King Hussein has always stressed that Jordan's real wealth is its human resources. Even by global standards,

Jordan ranks respectably in the number of schools, hospitals and universities it offers to its citizens. There is even a surfeit of doctors, engineers and teachers, a fact that has exacerbated Jordan's unemployment problem during the last ten years, when economic problems have worsened.

Having severed political ties with the West Bank in 1988, King Hussein signaled the resumption of the democratization process in Jordan, which was interrupted in 1967. Economic hardship hastened the process when in April 1989, following riots over price hikes, he called for the kingdom's first general elections in more than two decades.

The elections marked a major turning point in Jordan's history. Fair and free elections took place in late 1989 for the 80-seat Lower House. Jordan's Muslim Brothers, an Islamist political movement, won about one-third of the seats. While Jordan's neighbors felt uneasy about the rise of the Muslim tide in Jordan, the king believed it was safer to incorporate them into the mainstream political process. As a result, Jordan's democratization process shifted into high gear. Parliament passed laws allowing the formation of new political parties in addition to laws covering education, legal and economic reform.

When King Hussein turned 57 in November, Jordan had more than 20 political parties, including the Communist Party and the Arab Baath (Resurrection) Party. The country was engaging in peace negotiations with Israel, liberalizing its economy after successfully absorbing the numerous shockwaves of the mid-1980s and early 1990s, and had taken important strides to improve human rights, increase the margin of political freedom and launch economic and political reforms.

Under newly liberalized press laws, privately owned media are flourishing and for the first time political parties are allowed to have their own media outlets. Publications can still be shut down by the government, but new laws grant owners and publishers the right to a legal appeal to seek an explanation from the government for any ban. New laws also ban torture as well as the jailing of anyone without a court order. Criticism of the monarchy, however, is still prohibited. Currently, two members of parliament are being tried for "undermining the monarchy," but for the first time the media are reporting the views of the accused.

King Hussein has repeated many times that he wants to see Jordan become an example to other Arab countries. So far, the Jordanian example under King Hussein has been successful. In the long run, the transition to democracy is expected to become independent of King Hussein.

Jordan is still surrounded by countries where democracy and individual freedoms are nonexistent. But King Hussein's hopes may soon be fulfilled as the Arab world emerges from decades of failed economic planning, authoritarian and corrupt rule, and political and social chaos.

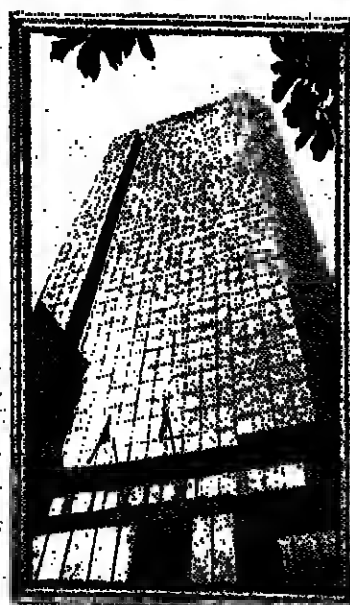


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3 DECEMBER 1992

TRAVEL

THE STAR 17

Dave Barry Does Japan (Part Three)

## The secrets of Japanese industry

By Dave Barry

YOU PROBABLY figured this out already, but I'm not a real journalist. In Japan, however, I ran into the problem of being taken seriously. I kept trying to let people know that I was a humor writer. But the Japanese are very sensitive about the kind of press they get, so they tend to take any US writer seriously. This is why I found myself, against my will, interviewing the president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations.

It was with some concern that, on the appointed day, I put on a tie, got into a taxi and showed the driver a note that was written for me to get me to the Keidanren building.

Once there, I was shown into an office and left alone for 15 minutes, which is a long time when you are a journalism fraud waiting to interview the head of the most powerful economic organization in Japan. The only question I could think of was:

What am I doing here?  
After a few minutes, in came the Big ToFu himself, Masaya Miyoshi, a very urbane man who had been a Fulbright Scholar and spoke excellent English. We exchanged business cards, and his best mine by 680 points, but he was too smooth to make a big deal about it.

Now it was time for me to ask a question. I must say that, despite my nervousness, I was able when the time came to represent the journalism profession with the cool poise and savoir-faire of a groom walking down the aisle trailing eight feet of toilet paper.

"Do you think," I said, "that, um, Japan and the, uh, United States, I mean, there's an awful lot of, you know, I mean, tension, you make all these cars you know, and how come there is so much, I mean, admittedly, on both sides..."

This is only an approximation. I was actually not that coherent. Fortunately, as it turned out, Mr Miyoshi didn't really expect to be interviewed. He expected to make a presentation on the Japanese Economic Miracle, and as soon as I shut up he launched into it.

Basically he said that Japan has been very lucky to do so well, and owes a big debt of gratitude to the US. But the situation was starting to feel like Economics class, and I could feel my brain cells sneaking out, one by one, from the lecture hall of my cranium.

I was happy to get out of the Keidanren with at least some limited ability to see through the glaze that had formed over my eyeballs.

After a week in Japan, we decided to leave Tokyo and spend some time in a traditional Japanese inn, just the way vacationing Japanese do, except of course that they do not make total idiots of themselves at every possible opportunity.

We started doing this right away at the train station. Trains run everywhere in Japan, and they run exactly on time — we took dozens, and not one was even a minute late. Usually we had reserved seat tickets, which meant we'd have to get to the right station, then get to the right

platform, then get to the right position on the platform, then get in the right car, then find the right seats. All of these numbers were on our tickets of course, but sometimes words like "car" or "train number" were in Japanese only, so basically I was looking at a piece of paper covered with random marks and numbers, like a lottery ticket from Mars.

We travelled westward from Tokyo to Kyoto on one of the famous "bullet trains". These trains reach speeds of well over 100 miles per hour, and I have been told that they are very comfortable if you ever locate your seat.

When we arrived in Kyoto, we took a cab to our inn, which was a traditional type of Japanese inn called a *ryokan*. When we pulled

up in front, three women in kimonos came out and began bowing and saying things in Japanese and picking up our luggage. Using our Japanese skills, we said "thank you" or possibly "good night," and we bowed, and they bowed some more, which was not easy for them to do while holding our luggage.

A lady showed us our *yukata*, which are lightweight bathrobe-like garments that you're supposed to wear while you stroll around the *ryokan*. The idea is that you become extremely relaxed and contemplate until you achieve Total Inner Peace. Or, if you are a typical hyperactive American suburban mall-oriented family like us, you go stark raving mad.



The first evening we wandered around downtown Kyoto, looking for a restaurant that might have some form of food that our son would eat. We'd been in Japan for over a week, and were starting to feel the strain of hardly ever being able to understand

Maybe the problem was that the crickets outside went off at about 4:30 am and had apparently got hold of small but powerful amplifiers. So we never got quite enough sleep in the *ryokan*, nor did we experience the total relaxation that comes from taking a traditional Japanese hot bath. The Japanese like to soak in wooden tubs filled with extremely relaxing water hot enough to melt plastic; this is one of the first things you're supposed to do when you get to the *ryokan*.

people or read signs. And now we were in Kyoto, which is less westernized than Tokyo, staying in a small, terminally peaceful inn where the main form of entertainment was insects, and we were feeling down. I realize that this was our fault, for being too stuck in our American ways to be able to adapt to another culture, but I bet there were times when even a great traveller like Marco Polo just wanted to find a cheeseburger and a Holiday Inn, and this was one of those times for us. ■

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# Le Jourdain

Section française du Star

Expo de Samer Ousama

## Vers une euphorie chromatique

Il faut être reconnaissant envers Samer Ousama de nous mettre en face de cette force magique de la couleur, "ce lieu où se rencontrent, disait Cézanne, notre esprit et l'univers". A partir du 7 décembre au Centre culturel français

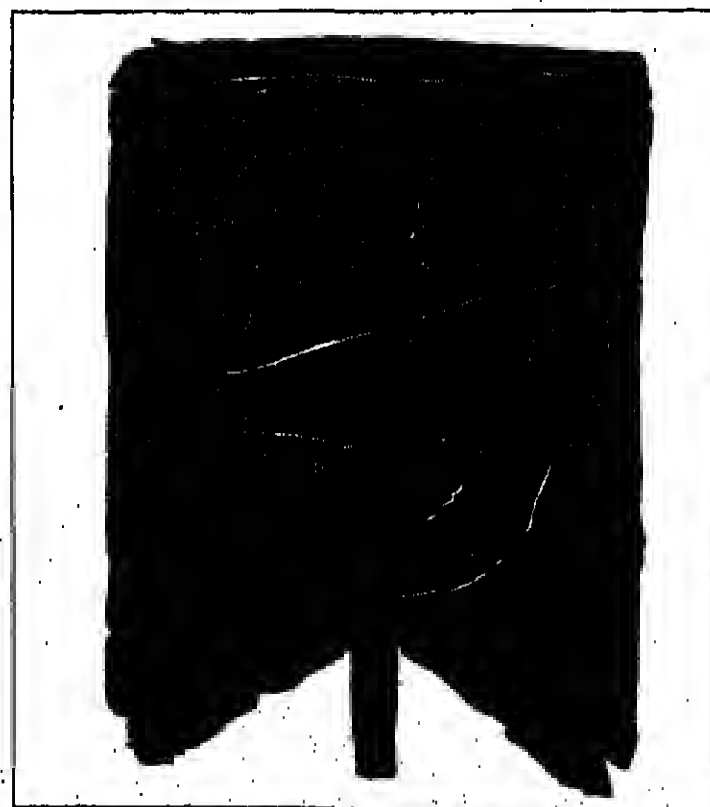
Par Noël Favrelière

LE PEINTRE irakien Samer Ousama n'a de toute évidence qu'un sujet: la couleur. Il aimerait sans doute qu'elle parle pour lui, mais cette farouche parle avant tout pour elle-même. Les peintures d'Ousama s'apparentent à des études sur les rapports réciproques des couleurs et il semble que la forme ne soit là que pour "échantillonner" la couleur. Peut-être aussi pour donner une expression primitive à un espace fait de plans, de lignes, de cercles aussi, que l'on nimerait voir plus grands, pour rythmer au lieu de trouver des compositions ni franchement géométriques, ni franchement libres.

Quête

Il semble que cette quête vers une euphorie chromatique soit freinée par une obligation que semble se faire le peintre d'avoir recours à des formes expressives. C'est oublier que la sensation de la couleur est purement affective et qu'elle n'a en elle-même aucune vertu représentative. Quel peut-être le bleu d'Yves Klein, bleu du ciel, bleu de l'eau, bleu de la profondeur. C'est oublier aussi que les couleurs doivent être acceptées telles qu'elles se présentent, avec toutes leurs particularités chromatiques et qu'on doit pouvoir se passer de cette phobie qu'est l'illusion figurative, faite de formes géométriques et ordonnées pour plaire à un œil qui se croit décalé.

Pour atteindre cette euphorie chromatique, il faudrait savoir retrouver cette portée ignorée de toutes les règles qui a permis aux peintres, à travers



Œuvre sur bois originale imprimée et signée par l'artiste

nos primitifs et à d'autres "barbares" comme Van Gogh ou Gauguin, de parler aux âmes. Ou bien encore de rejoindre cet autre exploitateur de la couleur qu'est Mark Rothko dans sa quête pour l'absolue couleur. Car celui-ci avait su apprivoiser la sauvage en se contentant de proportionner les zones, sans la diviser pour régner sur elle.

La couleur tue le dessin disait Picasso et l'envie d'ajouter "que c'est bien fait". Cela ne veut cependant pas dire que l'un exclut l'autre et Marjisse a su le prouver, en dessinant non pas autour

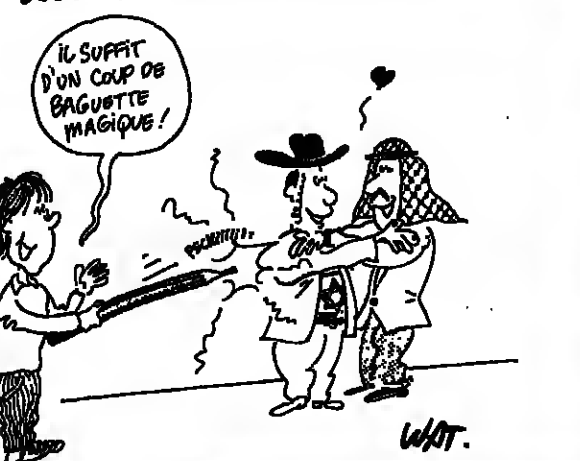
mais dans la couleur. Mais cela veut dire que la grande conquête moderne en peinture est celle de l'expression de la couleur devenue un élément autonome, un être qui vaut pour elle-même, seule ou en rapport avec d'autres éléments comme le dessin ou la matière.

Personnellement, j'attendrais d'Ousama qu'il fasse un choix plus franc, plus violent, que ses compositions ne soient plus des cages à couleur, mais des constructions par la couleur. Mais en même temps, je suis bien conscient du fait que parler d'une peinture sous l'angle unique de la couleur nous réduit très vite à l'impuissance, comme ni on atteignait des limites.

Sans doute convient-il de ne rien dire, mais de se laisser fasciner, de se laisser prendre par les sortilèges de la couleur. Et d'être reconnaissant envers Samer Ousama de nous mettre en face de cette force magique de la couleur, "ce lieu où se rencontrent, disait Cézanne, notre esprit et l'univers".

Noël Favrelière est directeur du Centre culturel français.

DESSEIN DE PAIX AU PROCHE-ORIENT



Jean Plantu

## La diplomatie du dessin

UN INCONNU des médias jordaniens se lève lors de la Conférence de presse. "Je m'appelle Jean Plantu, je suis dessinateur..." Le journaliste le moins sérieux du grand quotidien austère "Le Monde" montre sa dernière caricature au roi Hussein et à François Mitterrand.

Le Président français est un serveur de restaurant: "Je veux prendre les commandes, mais c'est vous qui ferez la cuisine". Il s'adresse au roi Hussein, à Yasser Arafat et à Yitzhak Rabin. Réaction du souverain hachémite: "Je ne l'aurais pas fait de cette façon". François Mitterrand contre attaque et lance une flèche humoristique: "Pour le moment nous n'avons pas eu les hors d'œuvres, mais j'espère que nous allons atteindre le dessert". Rires... Dès la fin de la Conférence, la caméra de TF1, première chaîne de télévision française, se braque sur la vedette. Coup réussi. Un coup de maître qui n'est pas un coup d'essai.

Le quotidien "Le Monde" a publié jeudi dernier le premier document signé par le chef de l'OLP, Yasser Arafat et par un haut responsable israélien, en l'occurrence le ministre des Affaires étrangères, Shimon Peres. Ce traité historique est en fait un dessin de Plantu, représentant un drapeau israélien et un drapeau de "l'État de Palestine". Les deux sont séparés par une frontière co-

pointillée, dessinée par Yasser Arafat lui-même. La naissance de cette nouvelle école de la diplomatie du dessin de presse date de la fin de 1990. Alors qu'il participe à une exposition de caricatures à Tunis, Jean Plantu se voit appelé au milieu de la nuit par le chef de l'OLP. Rencontre inattendue. Yasser Arafat se montre très critique à l'encontre du dessinateur qui le compare parfois à des dictateurs de la pire espèce, tels que Nicolas Ceausescu. Puis le numéro un de l'OLP se fait plus affable et appose même sa signature sur un dessin de Plantu.

C'est plus facile avec les images qu'avec les mots, dit le dessinateur, les politiciens, avec leur langue de bois, sont incapables de dire les choses directement. Arafat ne dit jamais "Je reconnais Israël". Les Israéliens ne disent jamais "nous reconnaissons l'OLP".

A VOIR...

CINEMA - Hommage à MARCEL CARNE au CCF.

Lundi 7 décembre, à 20h00, "Les visiteurs du soir" (1942). Une fable médiévale sur le triomphe de l'amour. Avec Jules Berry, Arletty, Marie Déa, Alain Cuny.

EXPO - A partir du 7 décembre au CCF, "Vers une euphorie chromatique" de Samer Ousama, peintre irakien. Voir article ci-contre.

Visite de François Mitterrand.

# La politique du 'pas à pas'

Le roi Hussein a exprimé "un sentiment d'urgence" face au processus de paix. Les deux chefs d'États sont tombés d'accord sur la nécessité pour les Israéliens de dialoguer avec l'OLP

"MIEUX VAUT une paix à petits pas que pas de paix du tout... Mieux vaut un processus qui existe plutôt qu'un processus qui n'existe pas" affirme François Mitterrand. Le discours commun du Président français et du roi Hussein, vendredi soir, est le premier temps fort de la visite. Le souverain hachémite a réservé un accueil pour le moins chaleureux à François Mitterrand, premier chef d'État occidental à se rendre en Jordanie depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe, en 1991.

Dans son discours de bienvenue, le roi Hussein souligne que son pays attend de la France "une contribution efficace à la réalisation de la paix, de la sécurité et du développement au Moyen-Orient". Pour la France, le Jordanien "est un partenaire nécessaire" à tout règlement de paix au Proche-Orient. Le cadre général de cette rencontre de 24 heures est fixé. Place aux discussions en tête à tête entre les deux chefs d'États. En parallèle, les deux ministres des Affaires étrangères, Kamel Abou Jaber et Roland Dumas ont échangé les points de vue des deux pays.

"Sentiment d'urgence"

Le souverain hachémite et le Président français ont tenu une conférence de presse commune, samedi matin. L'occasion pour le roi Hussein d'exprimer "un sentiment d'urgence" face au pro-



François Mitterrand et le roi Hussein lors de la Conférence

cessus de paix au Proche-Orient. L'objectif: "Éviter le désastre". La seule issue possible, selon le souverain hachémite, est d'adopter une "approche globale". Pas question de favoriser tel ou tel accord de paix séparé. "Nous travaillons pour la paix, nous croyons qu'elle est urgente et qu'elle doit apporter la sécurité pour tous" a ajouté le roi Hussein. Le souverain hachémite a insisté sur la nécessité de régler les grandes questions régionales, telles que celle de l'eau, "car on ne pourra plus à terme subvenir aux besoins des populations".

Les deux chefs d'États se sont retrouvés sur la question de

l'OLP: la Centrale est bien "le représentant légitime" du peuple palestinien. "On ne peut pas refuser ceux qui existent dans l'attente de ceux qui ne sont pas encore là, si un jour ils sont là" a déclaré François Mitterrand. Et d'ajouter: "Pas un seul Palestinien ne m'a dit être prêt à agir sans l'OLP". Pour le souverain hachémite, c'est "la voie du problème".

Au deuxième jour de sa visite en Israël, le Président Mitterrand avait soutenu, pour la première fois, l'idée de procéder à des élections libres dans les Territoires occupés - Cisjordanie et Gaza. François Mitterrand avait même évoqué au passage les notions de

patrie, de structures de pouvoir, et donc d'un "État" palestinien.

A propos du statut de Jérusalem, le roi a précisé qu'il souhaitait un contrôle des trois représentants des trois religions monothéistes présentes, pour en faire "le symbole, l'emblème de la paix alors retrouvée". François Mitterrand ne s'est pas avancé sur ce terrain, affirmant "qu'il serait sage de ne pas buter dès le point de départ sur le problème du statut de Jérusalem, car il s'agit d'un problème infiniment plus compliqué que les autres".

Enfin, les deux chefs d'États ont discuté de la proposition israélienne concernant un plan de développement régional, soutenu par la CEE. M. Mitterrand a précisé qu'il avait eu des contacts avec le Président de la Commission, Jacques Delors. Dans un premier temps, le projet pourrait porter sur un milliard d'écus (1,2 milliards de dollars) en provenance du Fonds Européen de Développement (FED). Cette enveloppe pourrait être affectée à des projets techniques et économiques. Ses interlocuteurs "disent les mêmes choses, les mêmes mots, dès qu'on sort du domaine politique" a affirmé François Mitterrand. Ne pas négliger les négociations multilatérales serait donc une condition sine qua non de la réussite de la politique du "pas à pas".

F.M.

Yitzhak Rabin

## L'OLP ne fait plus peur

Le Premier ministre israélien n'exclut pas de négocier avec l'OLP le statut définitif des Territoires occupés

DEPUIS UNE semaine, le discours d'Yitzhak Rabin à l'égard de l'OLP a sensiblement changé de ton. La preuve: le Premier ministre israélien n'a pas exclu, dimanche, de négocier avec la Centrale, le statut définitif de la Cisjordanie et de Gaza.

Virage

Les Territoires occupés pour devenir à terme "une entité palestinienne", selon les termes de Rabin. "Pourquoi nous ne négocions pas avec l'OLP?" s'est interrogé le Premier ministre israélien. La réponse est simple: "Parce qu'à ce stade, les négociations bilatérales portent sur le statut définitif et nous nous sommes accordés avec les Palestiniens des principes". Le Premier ministre israélien

entame sans nul doute un virage, avant un possible dialogue avec l'OLP. Auparavant, tous les Premiers ministres israéliens, toutes tendances confondues, avaient affirmé qu'ils ne discuteraient "jamais" avec la Centrale palestinienne. Celle-ci était considérée comme "une organisation terroriste et ennemie irréductible d'Israël".

Le virage de Rabin ne représente plus la cible absolue des Israéliens. En revanche, "Arafat constitue un obstacle à la paix contrairement à d'autres Palestiniens des Territoires ou de Tunisie" a affirmé Rabin. Des militants de son parti avaient déjà attaqué le leader de l'OLP: "Quand il y aura l'autonomie dans les Territoires et des élections démocratiques nous pourrions la désigner comme représentants palestiniens, Arafat

sait parfaitement que sa position politique sera atteinte". "Quand je parle d'Arafat, je ne dis pas l'OLP, car je pense qu'il y a en son sein à Tunis des Palestiniens plus réalistes que lui" a ajouté M. Rabin.

Presse

La presse israélienne semble également adoucir ses propos sur la Centrale palestinienne. La semaine dernière, le quotidien Yediot Aharonot a publié une interview du chef de l'OLP à Tunis. Les deux journalistes qui ont rencontré "le vieux" ne sont pas des partisans acharnés de la cause palestinienne. C'est le moins que l'on puisse dire.

Ils dérivent Arafat sans agressivité gratuite et le comparent même à Menahem Begin, fonda-



Yitzhak Rabin

teur de la droite nationale israélienne, en raison de son "nationalisme ardent et son attachement au passé". Mardi, cette nouvelle approche de l'OLP devait même entrer dans les textes. Le gouvernement devait voter une loi abrogeant l'interdiction de tout contact entre Israéliens et l'OLP.

Michel Armand

L'EDITO

De Anne Chaboud

## Solidarité chômeurs!

LES RESPONSABLES Israéliens admettent eux-mêmes que le chômage dans les rangs de la population active palestinienne a atteint des proportions alarmantes. Des experts palestiniens avancent des chiffres allant de 40 à 90%, selon les localités.

Lors des célébrations des Nations Unies marquant la solidarité avec le peuple palestinien, il était difficile de ne pas s'arrêter devant l'un des problèmes inextricables de cette population sous occupation.

Prétendre œuvrer dans le sens d'une résolution du conflit israélo-arabe sans tenter de mesurer la nature et le volume des souffrances endurées par le peuple palestinien, risquerait de réduire l'ensemble de l'opération à un exercice stérile.

Au lieu de limiter la solidarité avec le peuple palestinien à une simple célébration, la Commission économique et sociale des Nations Unies pour l'Asie occidentale (CESAO), a tenu, lors d'un symposium (30 novembre), de tirer la sonnette d'alarme.

Le Doyen de la faculté de Sciences économiques à l'université Al-Najah de Nablouse, a présenté un tableau apocalyptique de la situation du chômage de l'emploi dans les T.O. Hormis les critères habituels inhérents à une situation économique défavorable, le chômage qui touche les Palestiniens est devenu une nouvelle forme de répression. Dès qu'une manifestation ou un acte de violence se déclenchent, les autorités israéliennes recourent systématiquement à la fermeture de l'une ou de l'autre des localités. Ce qui empêche la main d'œuvre palestinienne, totalement dépendante de l'offre israélienne, d'atteindre le lieu de travail.

Le chômage dans les T.O. s'est encore aggravé à la suite de deux phénomènes récents: les vagues d'immigrés juifs venant des pays de l'Est et les milliers de Palestiniens chassés du Koweït et des pays du Golfe. Trente mille nouveaux travailleurs palestiniens se trouvent ainsi sans emploi, après avoir vécu et travaillé dans les "monarchies pétrolières".

Face à ce phénomène, tous les efforts devraient être déployés afin de trouver des solutions à moyen et à long terme. Les Nations Unies, à travers ses organisations spécialisées telles que le PNUE, le BIT et la CESAO, sont censées accorder davantage d'attention à ce fléau. Autrement, le processus de paix risque de se trouver compromis.



# Ancient art with long-lasting appeal

By Maggie James

SUSAN L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, both from the department of the history of art at The Ohio State University, have travelled for the past 18 years in what was once the Pala region of India (the modern states of Bihar and West Bengal in the northeast, and neighboring Bangladesh) and surrounding areas where the Pala influence spread.

Using their extensive knowledge, they have co-curated a touring exhibition which consisted of 165 works, chiefly Buddhist manuscripts, paintings and carved figures of deities. They have also produced a large illustrated catalog to accompany the show. *Leaves From the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pala India (8th-*

*12th centuries) and its International Legacy*, is an account of an influential era which is rich in history, culture and artistic productivity.

In the course of their studies the authors became intrigued by the fact that despite the great wealth of materials in India, little exhaustive research had actually been conducted on the art of its Pala period. Even more intriguing, they explain, was the aspect that in recent publications on South Asia, many scholars have indicated that the Himalayan and Southeast Asian cultures owe a great debt to that of Pala India. Little information was offered, however, about what that indebtedness actually was. Thus in the course of their research the idea was borne to organize a

show of what was slowly being understood as one of India's most magnificent periods.

Two major religions were predominant in the Pala region — Buddhism and, later in the period, Hinduism. But it was as a Buddhist center that the area was recognized and pilgrims and devotees from the far corners of Asia converged there for religious instruction and pilgrimage.

"Carrying away with them the teaching and practices of Buddhism, like leaves from the bodhi tree (a sacred tree with leaves that are treasured by Buddhist adherents), these pious lay devotees, monks, merchants and scholars helped transplant Pala period Buddhism abroad, where it took root and flourished in many regional variants," say the

authors. Burma, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia, Tibet and China were all to be the recipients of the Pala influence.

The known art of the period is exclusively associated with religious contexts and the authors reveal that the majority of artistic remains from the time are stone sculptures, these being the most durable.

The Pala kingdom represented not just Indian Buddhism, but the religion at its most genuine, for the Pala territories contained the original nucleus of the Buddhist religion, Magadha, the homeland of the historical Buddha Sakyami. Therefore, Pala period works of art were in many cases emulated primarily because they were religiously authoritative rather than simply aesthetically compelling, assert the authors.

The Pala artistic tradition withered away after the Islamic conquest of the region. But that moribund style generated some of Asia's richest and most profound artistic creations and that is proof alone of its brilliance and sustained international interest in its various forms.

In the book's epilogue, Susan Huntington reveals that over the last two centuries a remarkable series of transformations has taken place at many of the Pala sites of eastern India. Today, visitors to many of the sites that flourished during the Pala period will be struck by the number of monuments that have been restored and the thriving religious activity they inspire, she says.

Stimulated at first by the antiquarian interests of 19th-century intellectuals, the revitalization is the result of scientific and archaeological efforts. But this restoration has not come from within India alone. Buddhists from throughout Asia, including some of the very regions that had once been nourished by the Pala traditions, have come back to India to pay homage and revitalize the Buddhist homeland.

As a note in the book indicates, the text allows no leaf of the bodhi tree to remain untouched, examines no branch without accounting for its support, and traces no root without testing its depth. The Huntingtons are to be praised for yet another accomplishment of the highest order.

Maggie James is a writer and researcher based in London.

**LEAVES FROM THE BODHI TREE: The Art of Pala India (8th-12th centuries) and its International Legacy.** By Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington. The Dayton Art Institute. 615pp. ISBN 0-295-97064-2.



Tibeto-Chinese Buddha, 13th century

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## ENGLISH PROGRAM

### SATURDAY

8:30 — America's Funniest Home Videos  
9:00 — Perspective  
9:30 — Saturday Variety Show  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — French Feature Film: 'Lo Zizanie'

### SUNDAY

8:30 — Family Matters  
9:10 — National Geographic  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — Low end Order

### MONDAY

8:30 — Step By Step  
9:10 — A Fine Romance  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — The Dismissal

### TUESDAY

8:30 — The Golden Girls  
9:30 — Malignant  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — Feature: 'CnreTokers'. Starring Robert Stack and Polly Bergen.

### WEDNESDAY

8:30 — Saved By The Bell

9:00 — Spot Light  
9:10 — Cluedo  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — The Cowra Breakout

### THURSDAY

8:30 — Uncle Buck  
9:10 — Civil Wars  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — Movie of the Week: 'Ghost Busters'. Starring Bill Munny and Annie Potts.

### FRIDAY

8:30 — Too Close for Comfort  
9:10 — Equal Justice  
10:00 — News in English  
10:20 — Columbo  
11:10 — Mr Bean

### FRENCH PROGRAM

### SAMEDI

6:00 — Les Aventures du Bosco  
6:30 — Envoye Special  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — Fenetre Sur

### DIMANCHE

5:30 — Rêves D'enfants  
5:40 — Jeux Sans Frontières  
7:00 — News in French

7:15 — Journal de L'Histoire

### LUNDI

6:00 — Pif et Hercule  
6:10 — Papa Poule  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — Magazine Sportif

### MARDI

6:00 — Michel Vaillant  
6:30 — La Famille Ramdan  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — A Documentary Program

### MERCREDI

6:00 — Les Ateliers du Reve  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — Varieties

### JEUDI

5:30 — Imagene  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — Les Images de L'Histoire

### VENREDI

5:30 — V Comme Vengeance  
7:00 — News in French  
7:15 — Varieties

## JORDAN WELFARE LOTTERY

Issue No. 22

Drawing of Dec. 2, 1992

### Winning Tickets

Holder of ticket No. <b>98548</b> Wins JD 30,000	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 1,200 each wins JD 120 <b>98549 98558 98548 98548 98548 98547 98538 98448 97848 88548</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>71980</b> Wins JD 7,000	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 700 each wins JD 70 <b>71981 71990 71080 72980 81980 71989 71970 71880 70980 61980</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>78281</b> Wins JD 3,500	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 400 each wins JD 40 <b>78282 78291 78381 79281 88281 78280 78271 78181 77281 68281</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>61167</b> Wins JD 2,500	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 200 each wins JD 20 <b>61168 61177 61267 62167 71167 61166 61187 61067 60167 81167</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>44804</b> Wins JD 1,500	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 150 each wins JD 15 <b>44805 44814 44904 43804 54804 44803 44894 44704 43804 34804</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>54984</b> Wins JD 1,200	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 100 each wins JD 10 <b>54985 54994 54084 55984 64984 54983 54974 54884 53984 44984</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>82285</b> Wins JD 1,000	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 90 each wins JD 9 <b>82286 82295 82385 83285 92285 82284 82275 82185 81285 72285</b>
Holder of ticket No. <b>14031</b> Wins JD 800	Ten consolation prizes totaling JD 70 each wins JD 7 <b>14032 14041 14131 15031 24031 14030 14021 14931 13031 04031</b>

Ticket numbers	54139 69237 67071 51614	Win JD 200 each
Ticket numbers	86135 97277 19098	Win JD 100 each

### TICKETS ENDING WITH

5817 2264 9637	Win JD 50 each	4471 0878 3060	Win JD 20 each
5406 2492 5718	Win JD 10 each	4180 8078	
1630 8506	Win JD 5 each	323 151 429 380	Win JD 5 each
09	Win JD 3 each	16,000 ticket ending with Zero	Win JD 2 each

### COVER PRIZES FOR THE LOTTERY SELLERS

50 covers, attached to the stub of 10 ending in	053 607 978 535 720	Win JD 10
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Winners of the grand prizes in the ordinary issue number 21 of Dec. Nov. 17, 1992

Mustafa Abu Khatib Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298	Mohammed Al-Najjar Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298	Youssef Al-Najjar Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298	Youssef Al-Najjar Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298	Youssef Al-Najjar Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298	Youssef Al-Najjar Amman - Jordan Tel: 648298
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Next Draw takes place on December 17, 1992

First biggest prizes are issued from GUVS headquarters

## HOROSCOPE

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Weekly Tip: Stay busy, do all your work during the week and you'll be able to relax later!

**ARIES** (21 March-19 April): Your best days this week will be right in the middle and at the end.

**TAURUS** (20 April-20 May): You should be in pretty good shape, but it might be hard to achieve a goal.

**GEMINI** (21 May-20 June): Keep your opinions to yourself. You will be a fountain of creativity.

**CANCER** (21 June-22 July): You may feel pressured to perform. If you can keep from getting nervous, you'll do fine.

**LEO** (23 July-22 August): You may experience some frustration. The boss may not like one of your suggestions.

**VIRGO** (23 August-22 October): A good week for planning, and for making contact with a friend from far away.

**LIBRA** (23 September-22 October): Be careful with your credit cards. If you buy, make sure you're getting a good deal.

**SCORPIO** (23 October-21 November): A partnership you develop could turn out to be excellent for both love and your future success.

**SAGITTARIUS** (22 November-21 December): Catch up on your chores. Put off social activities until Tuesday. They'll take up most of your time.

**CAPRICORN** (22 December-19 January): Don't let a friend talk you into spending money on something you don't want.

**AQUARIUS** (20 January-18 February): Hold your horses. Nothing you start will turn out right anyway. Listen to an older person, and take notes.

**PISCES** (19 February-20 March): Make a financial or romantic decision. Don't put it off. You could discover money.

## Dining Out

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## Would You Believe....

Howard Hughes' huge plane called the "Spruce Goose" flew only once — and that was for just one minute.

When you count all the words that have fallen out of use over the years, English consists of more than 1 million words. By far, English has the most words of any language in the entire world.

Charles Dickens was the first editor of the "Daily News," which was England's first newspaper aimed at the masses.

The largest asteroid found so far has been about 600 miles across.

Although San Francisco's Chinatown consists only of a few blocks, it is considered to be the largest Chinese settlement anywhere outside the Orient.

## Solution



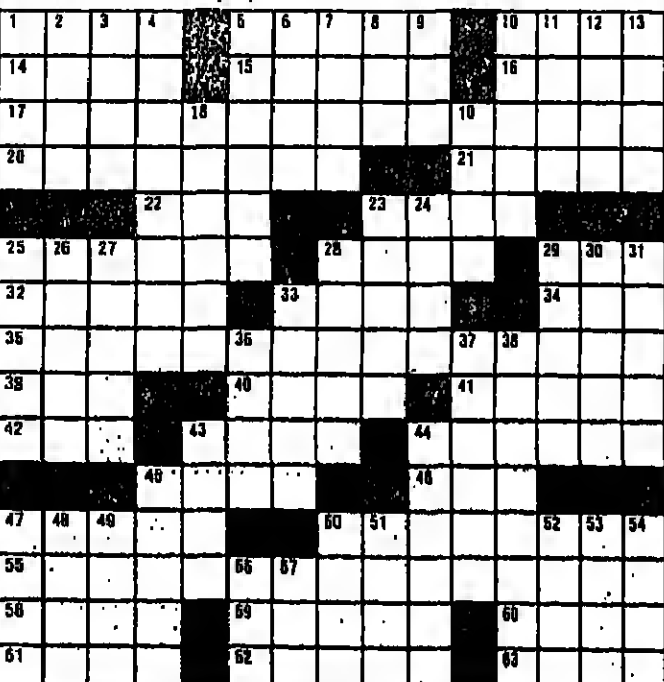
## CROSSWORD PUZZLE

**ACROSS**

1 "— well  
5 Dismay, ver.  
10 Festival  
14 Nobody  
15 Seal  
17 Long-running  
20 Hopful  
21 Cubic  
22 Torm  
23 Pison  
24 Naled  
25 Throwing  
29 Snake  
32 Maltrot  
33 Short hom  
34 Audit men  
35 Scottish  
39 Wager  
40 Bulk  
41 Explet

**DOWN**

2 Ninny  
3 Well  
4 Commence  
6 B.A. word  
7 Playground  
8 Camicheel  
9 The Lion  
11 Words of  
12 Understand  
13 The Lion  
16 Beauty  
18 Beauty  
19 Beauty  
20 Beauty  
21 Beauty  
22 Beauty  
23 Beauty  
24 Beauty  
25 Beauty  
26 Beauty  
27 Beauty  
28 Beauty  
29 Beauty  
30 Beauty  
31 Beauty  
32 Beauty  
33 Beauty  
34 Beauty  
35 Beauty  
36 Beauty  
37 Beauty  
38 Beauty  
39 Beauty  
40 Beauty  
41 Beauty



## JORDAN BRIDGE

By Ghassan Ghanem

### Simple counting

ONE MORE hand from the teams event of the Amman Eleventh International Bridge Festival. The main point is regarding the play of the hand, but let us first put a spotlight on the bidding:

You as East hold this hand:

♠ 10 9 7 6  
♥ 10 8 7 3 2  
♦ 5 2  
♣ K 5

Your Lefty opens the bidding with 1♠, your partner over-calls with 2♦, and your Righty passes. What do you bid?

In real life East bid was 3N, a quantitative bid, balanced, guarantees two slappers in the opponent suit and denies four cards of the other major.

Did I hear you suggesting some other bid?

I would have started with 2♦, promising an opening hand and asking the partner for a clarifying bid with priority to no trump with a slapper in the opponent suit.

If partner bid 2N, I would raise it 3N myself. The 3N bid is not a bad bid directly over the 2♦ after all, is it?

Playing 3N, L.H.O. led a small spade and R.H.O. played the ten, you captured the trick and...

How do you play for maximum safety? (Remember you are playing teams) and this is the dummy:

♠ K Q 4  
♥ Q 9 6  
♦ K 4  
♣ Q 9 8 3 2

East played the ♦ K followed by a small diamond to the Ace and a third diamond to south who played the ♦ J to kill the contract. Do you see what happened?

Having no way back to hand, East had to run the club to her queen... oops!

North jumped with the king and flashed back a spade, one down and curtains.

Did you realise the simple play? If you only count up to nine you will recognize that you need a ninth trick. Accordingly, you should make the heart finesse before playing the diamond and destroying your entry.

One more precaution, if you play a diamond to the Ace and diamond back to the king you can still make the heart finesse, but if the diamonds Queen and Jack dropped doubleton, you don't need the finesse.

On the other table, our team-mates played a hair-raising 5♦, losing a diamond and a spade, this is the full hand:

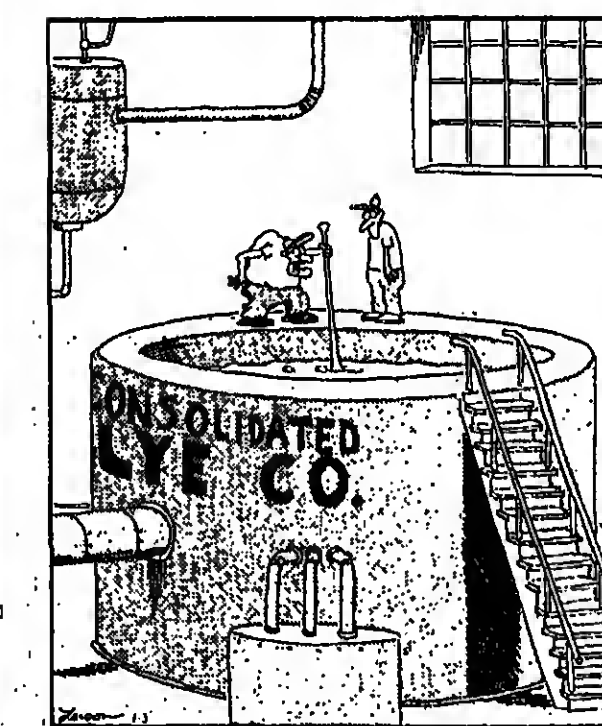
♠ 10 9 7 6  
♥ 10 8 7 3 2  
♦ 5 2  
♣ K 5

## THE FAR SIDE

By GARY LARSON



Appliance heeler



"New guy, huh? Well, up here, you walk the edge! And the edge is a little heeler... Love her, but never trust her, for her heart is full of LYE!"



Those snakes? Oh, they're just signing, honey.

## Diplomatic Corps

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Australian	637246/7
Austrian Embassy	644635
Bahrain	664148
Belgian	675683
Bulgarian	818151
Canadian	666124
Chilean	661336
Cyprus Honorary Cons.	677559
Czechoslovakian	665105
Danish Consulate Gen.	622324
Finnish Consulate	623443
French	641273/4
German	689351
Greek	672331
Hungarian	815614
Indian	637262
Iran	639331
Italian	638185
Consulate Gen. Ireland	630878
Japanese	672486/7
Yugoslavian	665107
Kuwait	675135/8
Libyan	666118
Lebanese	641381
Moroccan	641451
Netherlands	637967/625165
Indonesian	828911
North Korean	666349
Norwegian Consulate	637164
Pakistani	622787
Palestine	677517
People's Rep. of China	666139
Philippines	645161
Polish	637153
Qatar	641331/2
Romanian	667758
Saudi Arabian	814154
South Korean	660745/6
Spanish	622140
Sudanese	641251/2
Swedish	669177/8
Swiss	686416/7
Syrian	641076
Tunisian	67107/8
Turkish	641251
United Arab Emirates	644369
United Kingdom	821001
USSR	641158
Yemen	642381
Delegation of the EEC	668191
UNEP	668171/7
UNRWA	669194/8
UNICEF	671530
UNEP	629571
Con. of Sri Lanka	645312
Con. of Iceland	698851

## Airlines

Alyenda (Air yemen)	653691
Aeroflot	641510
Air France	668153 / 667824
Air India	688301/2
Air Lanka	682140
Alitalia	652203
American Airlines	669068
Arab Wings	894484
Adria Airways	667029
Austrian Airlines	637380/667028
Balkan Airlines	665909
British Airways	641430
China Airlines	637380
Cathay Pacific	624363
Cyprus Airways	667028
Egypt Air	630111
Emirates Airlines	662141/678321
Gulf Air	653606/656616
Hungarian Airlines	639295
Iberia	637827/644036
Iraq Airways	628596/628598
Japan Air Lines	630879
K.L.M.	622175
Korean Airlines	676624/662236
Kuwait Airways	690144
Libyan Arab Airlines	643831/2
Lufthansa	601744
Malaysian Airlines	639575/633446
M.E.A.	636104
Olympic	630125/638433
P.A.	625981
Philippine Airlines	670155
Polish Airlines	625981
Qatar	641430/655447
Royal Jordanian	678321
Renaissance Airlines	675888
Saudi	639333
Scandinavian Airlines	606449
Swire	676177
Turkish Airlines	694501
UAE (G.S.A.)	669791/641906
U.A.R.	690501
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U.S. Air	659102
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## Diary

### Activities

Cultural	Cinema
Royal Cultural Centre... 661026/7	Concord... 677420
American Centre Library... 641520	Rainbow... 625155
British Council... 636147/8	Plaza... 674111
French Cultural Centre... 637009	Philadelphia... 634144
Goethe Institute... 641993	Nijom... 675571
Soviet Cultural Centre... 644203	
Spanish Cultural Centre... 624049	
Turkish Cultural Centre... 639777	
Haya Ans Centre... 665195	
Husseini Youth City... 667181/5	
Y.W.C.A. Amman... 641793	
Y.W.M.A. Amman... 664251	
Univ. of Jordan Library... 834555	

### Sports Clubs

Al Hussein Sports City... 667181
Orthodox Club... 810491
Royal Automobile Club... 815410
Royal Shooting Club... 736572
Royal Chess Club... 673713
Royal Racing Club... 09-801233
Jordan Bridge Assoc... 676990

### Rent-a-car

Shakhshir	668958
Al-Jabal	665161/665153
Kade	813554
Al-Labadi	639197/8
National	816792
Nebo	605501
Paiza	665094
Raidh Amman	641361
Al-Rimal	665186
Al-Samer	639861
Satelite	771707
Tiger	625767/621471
Star	649404
Trust	671931
Al-Walia	673312
Al-Walia	674105
Ahu Degge	644642/644906
Amn Janar (Avis)	670498
Amman	666327
Arabian	641350
Avis-Jarar	08/51000
Miramar	604230
De'ns	669970
Dirani	660601
Europcar	601350/80
General Services	674100
Gulf	660902

### Hotels

Amman	Aqaba
Crown... 798181	Holiday Int'l... 312426
Philadelphia... 663100	Miramar... 314340
Mariotti... 660100	Al-Cazar... 313521
Regency... 660000	Coral Beach... 313521
Jerusalem... 665094	Aquamarine I... 316250
InterContinental... 641361	Aqaba... 314091
Ambassador... 665186	Aqaba Gulf Hotel... 316636
Commodore... 665181	
Middle East... 667150	
Grand Palace... 661121	
Tyche... 661114	
International... 818101	
San Rock... 813702	
Al Gateway... (08) 51000	
Amra... 815071	
Plaza... 674111	

### Emergencies

Amman Governorate... 91228
Amman Civil Defence... 198, 199
Civil Defence Irbid... 271292
Civil Defence Dept... 661111
Ambulance... 193, 775111
Amman fire brigade... 198
First aid... 630341
Blood Bank... 775121
Civil Defence rescue... 630341
Police rescue... 621111, 637777
Police headquarters... 639141
Traffic police... 896390
Electric Power Co... 636381/4
Water complaints... 897467
Queen Alia Airport... (08) 53200
RJ Flight Info... (08) 53200

### Hospitals

Husseini Medical Centre... 813813
Khaled Maternity... 644281/6
Akleh Maternity... 642441/2
Jabal Amman Maternity... 642362
Malhas, J. Amman... 636141
Palestine, Shmeisani... 664171/4
Shmeisani Hospital... 669131
University Hospital... 845845
Al-Muasher Hospital... 667227/9
The Islamic, Abdal... 666127/37
Al-Ahli, Abdal... 664164/6
Italian-Al-Muhajreen... 77101/3
Al-Bashir, Ashrafieh... 775111/26
Army, Marks... 891611/15
Queen Alia Hospital... 602240/50
Anal Hospital... 674155

### General

Jordan Television... 773111/19
Radio Jordan... 774111/19
Ministry of Tourism... 642311
Hotel complaints... 605800
Price complaints... 661176
Telephone information... 121
Jordan and Middle East talks... 10
Repair service... 623101

## Museums

Folklore Museum: Jewelry and costumes over 100 years old. Also mosaics from Madaba and Jerash (4th to 18th centuries). The Roman Theatre, Amman. Opening hours: 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., year round. Closed Tuesdays. Tel: 651760.

Jordan Archaeological Museum: Has an excellent collection of the antiquities of Jordan. Jabal Al-Qal'a (Citadel Hill). Opening hours: 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., Closed Tuesdays. Tel: 638795.

Jordan National Gallery: Contains a collection of paintings, ceramics, and sculptures by contemporary Islamic artists from most of the Muslim countries, and a collection of paintings by 19th century Orientalist artists. Muntazah, Jabal Weibdeh. Hours 10 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Closed Tuesdays. Tel: 630128.

## Churches

St. Joseph Church (Roman Catholic) Jabal Amman, Tel. 624590

Church of the Annunciation (Roman Catholic) Jabal Weibdeh, Tel. 637440.

De la Sella Church (Roman Catholic) Jabal Hussein, Tel. 661757.

Terraces Church (Roman Catholic), Jabal Weibdeh, mass in Italian every Saturday at 5:30 p.m. Tel. 622366.

Church of the Annunciation (Greek Orthodox) Abdal, Tel. 623541.

Church of the Redeemer Jabal Amman, Tel. 625383.

Armenian Orthodox Church: Ashrafieh, Tel. 775261.

St. Ephraim Church (Syriac Orthodox) Ashrafieh, Tel. 771751.

Amman International Church: (Interdenominational) meets at Southern Baptist School in Shmeisani, Tel. 827981.

Church of the Good Shepherd: (Evangelical Lutheran) Um As-Summaq Tel. 811295.

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